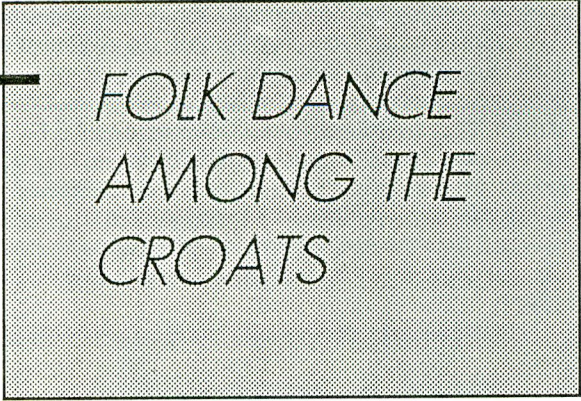


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FOLK DANCE
AMONG THE
CROATS

The article presents the folk dance of the Croats in brief, from its magical roots to its contemporary presentation at festivals and reviews.

On the basis of archival data we present the key elements that describe dances and dance customs from the 13th to the 19th century. On the basis of field work and written works in the 20th century we provide a division of dances by dance zones, and then we speak of the forming of the Institute of Folklore Research (formerly the Institute of Folk Art) and field work, the founding of the Lado Folklore Ensemble and the International Folklore Review in Zagreb.

It is quite difficult to pin down the origins of most folk dances and folk customs among the Croats*. There are too few documents on the subject. Aside from gravestones, stećaks (Bosnian medieval tombstones), a few frescoes and other artistic illustrations depicting dance, there is a scarcity of archival data from which we can only surmise what the actual dance was like. They usually refer to the influence of church or civil authorities on the holding of dances on this territory. These are usually in the form of bans, justified by the damaging influence of dance on the body and soul of the participant. We find occasional

* This text was first published in the book: Ivan Ivančan. *Narodni plesni običaji Južne Dalmacije. Narodna plesna kultura u Hrvata*, Kulturno-prosvjetni sabor Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1985: 9-44 & 467-471.

reference to fragments of dance customs or an occasional name of a dance in the writings of travellers who passed through these areas or state administrators reporting on the conditions in their region. But all this information is scant at best. We can glean a little information from reports of court proceedings.

It is quite clear that the former magical basis for certain dances and dance customs hints at their great age. Our distant, and sometimes not so distant ancestors used dances and customs in their struggle for prosperity.

The *zajc*, *zecor zečko kolo* dance, preserved in some parts of the country, is considered by dance historians to date back to the Paleolithic. The magical purpose of such dances was twofold: fertility and the struggle for an auspicious hunt.

Dances related to tilling the soil, the origins of which are placed in the Neolithic, are quite numerous even today, and their magical purpose is often still obvious. Such dances were performed in order to secure a good crop of flax, hemp, potato, cabbage, lettuce and so forth. They are still performed at times as a joke, but only thirty years ago they were danced "just in case", even though the participants no longer believed in their magical power. The dancers were supposed to stamp their feet as emphatically as possible so that the crop would be larger in size, and they had to leap as high as possible so that the plant would grow taller. Now and then the dancers would add a mustache dance to their dances for a good harvest. The mustache is a symbol of male potency, so the dance was for "women to bear offspring better".

In Međimurje, for example, the revellers in the carnival dance for the linen and turnips.

- Here is for flax, here is for plumper turnips.

For the flax they leap high, and for the turnips they stand with legs astride¹.

The objective of the circle dance performed during the winter solstice is to chase winter away and speed the arrival of the sun. All through the Croatian territories this period of the year is the main dance season, and until recently this season was the time when the circle dance was most frequently danced. Many authors consider the form of the circle dance to be a stylized sun, like some athletic equipment, or the circular or ball-like cakes which are prepared during the winter solstice.

On this territory, remnants of a circle dance can be found that was performed with the intention of jollying or tricking the dangerous ghost of someone deceased, to keep it from turning into a vampire and wreaking evil on the local population. Circle dances led backwards, in the wrong direction, are a remnant of attempts to keep the ghost of the deceased from recognizing the participants in the dance. We find such dances carved on *stećaks*, and the dance leader may be a stag, an animal associated with chthonic cults. Most of these circle dances and related customs reflect the twofold attitude of the participants: fear with protective magic, and awe for or humoring of the deceased with gifts and dance. The circle dance is led in the wrong direction, the dancers call to each other with altered names, and folk songs mention, aside from reversing the circle dance, that weapons and clothing were also reversed.

Certain forms of magic dancing around the city, house, hearth, wedding table or the stairs essentially had a twofold purpose. One was confirmation of ownership, while the other

¹ Milovan Gavazzi, *Godina dana hrvatskih narodnih običaja*, Zagreb, 1939, Mala knjižnica M.H. New series, IV vols. 19 and 20: 22.

was protection from disease. Such dancing held on throughout the territory inhabited by Croats, and in some places, particularly during wedding festivities, they are performed even today. I might also add invoking the household sprite. In the northwestern parts of Croatia, for instance at the moment when the best man or other figure in the wedding brings the bride to her new home, he pounds on the stairs or porch with a cane while dancing, and everyone in the circle dance shouts:

Mator, Mator!

or

Stari, Stari!

(both "mator" and "stari" mean "Old Man")

A circle dance around a tree, bonfire or a water spring are also remnants of health cults, or cults of advancing the vegetation. Such are the wedding dance around a fire in the front yard, a circle dance around bonfire in northern Croatia, or around a burning *koleda* in Dalmatia. These customs are increasingly rare; a fire may be lit but no one dances around it, instead they jump over it. Similar is the case with dancing around a well, spring or water tank, while dances around trees have vanished altogether. All that is left is a memory of them and an occasional document from earlier periods.

We can tell that a circle dance was supposed to provide protection against evil spirits and demons usually by the place it was performed and belief in fairy and witch dances. Many details are repeated similar to those that dance historians relate to the dance customs of early Slavs. The performance of circle dances at crossroads, along with the practical fact of the large open space, also has a concealed, magical meaning. This is more obvious when such crossroads are not close at hand and yet a circle dance is performed there if only once a year, though there may be other, more habitual places for dancing. When a village shifts in position such crossroads may end up on their outskirts, or even halfway between two villages. The fact that crucifixes are placed at such points is not chance. Crossroads, in the old beliefs, are the meeting place of fairies and witches. On their way through such crossroads, wedding processions inevitably slow down their pace or even stop so that flag-bearers, waving flags and leaping, can chase away evil spirits particularly threatening to the bride.

Peasants had special dances for protection against snakes and other threats, while uttering certain verses or magic formulas. Thirty years ago, the women of Lika still danced naked in the moonlight in the cabbage patch to chase caterpillars off the cabbage so that the cabbage would be as naked as the women in the dance.

The dance culture of the Croats is quite heterogeneous. We can not even approximately determine what part of its legacy came from the proto-inhabitants of the Balkans such as Illyrians, Celts and others, what was brought by the Slavs, and what can be attributed to influences of the conquerors: the Romans, Turks and others. The influences of the Alpine culture sphere, the Mediterranean, Carpathians, Orient and cultural elements of the neighboring peoples all found fertile soil on the territory settled by Croats. Gypsy musicians, singers, dancers and entertainers often transmitted various cultural goods, especially music and dance elements. One also mustn't underestimate the influence of what was fashionable among nobility at the courts and in cities, as well as influence of sacral and civic authorities. In this last century, teachers transmitted dances from one region to another, often including

Austria, Czech and Hungarian dances. Soldiers and seasonal work force also brought innovation to their villages that took root in the local folklore. This was particularly common when there was a local predisposition, similar elements, a basis for certain forms and content already, in which that the new could take hold. Radio and television merely accelerated a certain uniformity, while the influences and permeation of bourgeois civilization and old traditional culture are quite well suited to acculturation.

It is perfectly clear that various types of processioners (the carnival **zvončari**, **didi**, **fašniki** and so forth, the St. George's Day **jurjaši**, **đurđari**; the Mayday **filipovčice**, the Salvation **križari**, the Midsummer Day **ladarice** or **ivančice**, the Holy Spirit **kraljice**, the New Year **koledari**, the winter **vučari** or **vukari**, the rain processioners **dodole** and so forth) are a very old cultural feature, the beginning of which is difficult to pinpoint. The same applies to their ritual movement, circle dances and simple choreography, the use of masks and props. They are definitely older than dances that appeared in the Middle Ages. Belief in their magical power to insure better vegetation and crop lasted in people's consciousness until the mid-20th century. Similarly can be said for the jumping dances in lines which were usually performed by young lads. They were danced on the streets and at crossroads, from street to street, and they held on the longest in Podravina in dances called **stezanca** and **mi gunja pletemo**, etc. A circle dance and dance in couples spread considerably where the dancers go under a bridge made by the raised hands of two other dancers. Such is the **kolo iz Primoštena** and certain Posavina and Bilogorje walked dances, certain figures in the Korčula **kumpanije**, **lastovsko kolo**, **tanac** from Bašćanska Draga on Krk Island, and a series of couple dances of which the most well known is the **pod mostec** or **suhi most** from the Croatian Zagorje and Posavina. It is difficult to ascertain how old are walked dances with and without singing, the entwining and untwining of the circle dance with simple stepping, and where they originally come from. We simply cannot grasp the age and origin of mute mimicked circle dances that have only held on partially in Lika² and the Travnik vicinity³. For most of these circle dances no parallels can be found among other European dances, except in occasional cases, only in the Balkans.

Among the oldest dance traditions of the Croats, and not only the Croats, we find a six-part mute dance in the Dinaric dance sphere. When dance historians want to emphasize an old medieval dance, they mention a circle dance from the Fär-öer Islands, accompanied by singing of old ballads. It is identical to walking in many of the Croat six-part dances, such as those from Lika or Vrlika. M. Gavazzi considers that the circle dance is a form that the south Slavic peoples probably brought with them from their primeval home⁴. But it is also probable that some of the native populations in the Balkans already knew of the circle dance, because there are non-Slavic peoples that have it, both in the Balkans and in the Near East, such as the Arabs. Six-part circle dancing reached the Croat territory from this region, on its way to northwestern Europe. The first description of such a circle dance can be found in the

² Ivan Ivančan, *Narodni plesovi i igre u Lici*, Kulturno-prosvjetni sabor Hrvatske, Zagreb 1981: 153.

³ A group from Guča Gora near Travnik danced this circle dance at various reviews, and in Zagreb 1973 and 1975.

⁴ Milovan Gavazzi, *Sudbina stare slavenske baštine kod Južnih Slavena*, Biblioteka etnološkog društva Jugoslavije, Belgrade 1959: 11.

writings of Š. Ljubić, from 1846, which speak of the customs of the Morlaks⁵. This form, travelling along the well known cultural transversal of the Near East-European West, made it all the way to Norway.⁶ It held on in the Morlak region and was preserved in a greater number of versions than anywhere else. The Arabs are familiar with this unusual six-part rhythmic form even today under the name of **dapke**, foot tapping, and it is their principal dance. Along the same transversal, we adopted the dance inventory along with instruments for accompanying other dances: the drum and two flute-like instruments (zurna) that reached as far as Posavina and Istria. Six-part dance rhythm appears, outside the Dinaric zone, in other areas as well, completely clear in some cases, but also in such differing forms where only its powerful, and sometimes decisive influence is in evidence.

The first written mention probably referring to the Croats appeared in the Middle Ages. The Slavs believed in fairies and fairy dances. Young men were lured into the dances, abused and even killed. The same beliefs can be heard from story-tellers in various parts of the country. These sources further say that Slavs danced around a fire, and that they knew magical dances, particularly for the new year, which they performed wearing animal masks. All this also applied to the Croats.

The 13th Century

The earliest information on dance among the Croats can be gleaned from the document "Liber questionum" from 1273. Among these acts is a treatise on Bastianus Luca's complaint against Boghidan, because he struck Marincije, son of Denaksa, with his sword. He wounded him and spilled his blood. This happened in Trogir at the time of dance with weapons which are performed on Easter and several days before this holiday⁷. From the formulation of the defense of the accused, one can conclude that this was a collective dance, probably the **moreška** later documented in Trogir. And while the Romance population in Zadar had dances with swords, spears, swords and bows, it is clear in this case that the population was Slavic in Trogir. The names of the participants tell us as much.

The 14th Century

It is difficult to tell which population in Istria performed the dances of death that Vincent Kastavac⁸ depicted in frescoes at Beram in the Croatian, and Hrastovlje in the Slovenian, parts of Istria. When the church banned dancing in the Middle Ages, the populace

⁵ Šime Ljubić, *Običaji kod Morlakah u Dalmaciji*, Slovoiskarnica bratja Battara u Zadru, 1846: 21.

⁶ Most dance historians refer to Färöer Islands dance as the furthest northwestern point to which six-part dancing reached, the origin of which is in the Near East. At the International Folklore Review in Zagreb, however, in 1983, a Norwegian troupe also performed a six-part circle dance.

⁷ M. Barada, "O našem običaju 'biranja kralja'", *Starohrvatska prosvjeta, arheološki historijski časopis*, Izdaje Hrvatsko starinarско društvo u Kninu. Nova serija I, Zagreb-Knin 1927: 208-209.

⁸ Both frescoes were painted by Vincent from Kastav, 15th century.

mocked the regulations by dancing circle dances of death. In Beram, accompanied by instruments like the roženice (large single flute) and šurle (double flute), they dance in masked couples, in a circle, of which one partner is always death, shown in the form of a skeleton, while the other partners are representatives of various classes, a nobleman, soldier, merchant, peasant. The message is that we are all equal before death. The supposition that such dances did, in fact, exist in these areas is supported by the explicit bans issued by Aquileian patriarch Bertrand at synods in 1338 or 1339.

We then have a document by an anonymous chronicler who writes in Latin on a great festivity held in Zadar in 1344 for the arrival of the Hungaro-Croatian king. The people were issued a proclamation that they should publicly display their gaiety, sing and dance circle dances, ring the bells, sing hymns and sonnets accompanied by the lyre and trumpet. It is not clear which population this was. They performed the *choreas*, i.e. circle dance, which might mean that they were Croats⁹.

The information from the Dubrovnik vicinity is much more reliable. At the beginning of the 14th century, and then later, almost in the first half of the 15th, the Dubrovnik senate forbade dancing circle dances and singing secular songs at Our Lady's (the Dubrovnik Cathedral), and elsewhere in the little state of St. Blasius¹⁰. V. Vuletić-Vukasović, in whose archive we come across this fact, maintains that these songs were sung in Croatian, "slovinski" from time immemorial, because from ancient times until today a circle dance has been held on the porch of the village church. The porch vanished, and then the circle dance was performed near-by the church, while among the Orthodox it was danced by the church or monastery portal. There are only a few porches left, in the bishopric of Zaton, in Sugjurgja on Šipan, in Luka on Šipan, etc. This happens when the patron saint of a church is celebrated.

In Slano a circle dance is performed on the Day of the Assumption, and on Sidž (Srdž?) but also in further monastery churches, now on the shore. The dance leader sprightly leads the dance, and the women dance a *poskočnica* or hopping dance.

Kolovođo, diko naša
Skokni skokom, migni okom...

Dance leader, our pride
Take a leap, wink an eye, etc.

In Trsteno on 2 July (Feast of the Visitation) when there is a celebration in Orašac, the circle dance is danced with singing, now under the sycamores, but earlier in the porch, while here now there is a lovely porch by Our Lady on the Water.

Here I will write about the circle dance in the porch of St. George's in the village of Brsečine. Now there is no porch here, but during my childhood it was. A circle dance was held here, especially on St. George's day, and I remember how they played on the *cunja* (a type of boccia) because by the church was the *stranj* (wine cellar) of the Zuzoričić family (now Bizzara). Many, many years ago, so they tell me, a circle dance was held on the porch, and lame Grča from Mrčevo played the bagpipe. Then Father Buškaveta (others say it was Kuzma Kvestić, Lastovac) happened by, and he couldn't bear to see this holy place defiled. He come onto the porch and banged his cane against the columns, and they all ran away. Grča

⁹ V. Jagić, "Grada za historiju slovinske narodne poezije, I.", Zagreb 1876, reprint from Volume 37, JAZU: 81-82.

¹⁰ From the archives of Vid Vuletić Vukasović. Manuscript no. 48a. Sketches from the History of Dubrovnik.

couldn't run because of his limp, and his bagpipes were exhaling air, squealing. The priest set at him, mercilessly:

- And you dare to squeal, you shaved head!

On the porch there was a pedestal and coffin for funerals, so fishermen would come up to the porch to fry their fish. Once they were frying fish and talking, when Niko Ivanov, rambler and beggar, had crawled into the coffin. It was chilly as could be, and he woke up and suddenly announced from the coffin:

- Leave some for me!

Those fishermen forgot it might be Niko Ivanov, and ran off through Mandorfina (now the legacy of the late V. Kljunak) as fast as their feet could take them.

This is only in passing, to say, that porches, in spite of all bans, like the loggias on the islands, were a reffugium afflictorum."

The 15th Century

In the early 15th century, more precisely in 1402, new festivities were held for the arrival of King Ladislav's deputy. The circle dance, *choreas*, was danced, and there is special mention of dance at the home of Sir Lodovici de Matafaris. There is also mention, aside from the circle dance, of a dance in three steps.¹¹

It is impossible to state with certainty when Croatian folklore absorbed dances that stem from the *hault barrois*, a type of *branle* from the 15th century in which the dancers all leap high at once with both legs. In Croatian folklore there are quite a few such dances and circle dances. These are, for example: the Posavina *đuček*, the Turopolje *dudaš*, the Bilogorje *kozatuš*, *repe* and *staro sito* from the Croatian Zagorje, the Slavonian *đipan*, *nebesko*, *ripa*, *kolenike*, *krstavca* and so forth.

In Dalmatian Zagora, Bukovica and Banija, the custom that a man lifts his partner high into the air is clearly a trace of the western European *volta*, widespread during the 15th century.

A series of church bans went into effect, particularly those forbidding festivities, masked balls and dancing. The bans were in effect as much for clergy as they were for the public at large, especially if the festivities were held on church premises, in the nave of a church and its galleries. The authorities in Dubrovnik banned dancing and singing in the see church in 1420. In 1425, Dubrovnik approved of another law against dancing, dancing circle dances and singing secular songs in the church seat. On the day of St. Blasius (Sv. Vlah), patron saint of the Dubrovnik Republic, gentry, men and women alike danced in the afternoon in front of the church, accompanied by flute and musical instruments. The plebeians were not allowed to join in a circle dance with the gentry so they danced separately, while the middle classes enjoyed themselves elsewhere, dancing on the streets and squares.

In the first half of the same century we note, in Dubrovnik as well, the *dance of*

¹¹ V. Jagić, op.cit.:7

cobblers with bows, a sub-type of what were called chain dances (lančani plesovi) with swords. Both types appear simultaneously in Europe, often in the same towns; the representatives of some of the guilds would dance with swords or sabers and their derivatives (canes, kerchiefs), while others danced with bows. Archival documents inform us that a dance was performed in 1432 on the Day of sts. Philip and Jacob. All the cobblers to the age of 45 had to take part in the dance. Two figures are painted in watercolors from the archive of the Martecchini family.¹³ Under one we find the words "The Cobblers' Assembly at the Dance", while the caption under the other is even more interesting: "The Dance of Noblemen and Their Wives on Mayday, that Cobblers Continued to Perform on the Day of Philip and Jacob 1432". Clearly this dance had been danced earlier by noblemen, for Mayday. The second important aspect of these watercolors is that you can see Cupid painted above the group of dancers. In similar medieval dances there was often one person on top of the circle dance, and there was also a circle on top of the circle dance at times. This is probably the source of the *kolo na kat* that has been preserved almost to the present by Slavonians and Hercegovinians, as has the *kolo na čardak* it was also known by the Turopolje population and those living in other parts of Yugoslavia.¹⁴

The other craftsmen also had to dance before the Rector in Dubrovnik. Tailors from the age of 16 to 45 held carnival balls on Carnival Tuesday (Mardigras). According to another source, at the turn of the 15th century the tailor guild had the privilege of dancing before the Rector on *četvrtak pretili* (Carnival Thursday). According to K. Vojnović, from the book of this fraternity, it is evident that three tailors were granted 50 dukats to sew costumes for 12 dancers who would dance on Carnival Thursday for "the pride of the fraternity and the honor of the Rector"¹⁵. This was probably a chain dance, referred to in later documents as the *cerchiata*, i.e. a dance with bows, always performed by 12 dancers, or multiples of 12 dancers.

The craftsmen's corporations became the principle vehicles in cities for social life and entertainment: gradually they began to create dances that symbolically demonstrated some of the movements of the particular craft. Barrel-makers danced with barrel rings, knife-makers with a sword, millers imitated the millwheel, and weavers used a kerchief to show how the shuttle weaves through the threads of the woof. Cobblers imitated pounding wedges, tarring shoemaker's thread and sewing. These dances, particularly in the Alpine and Adriatic spheres, and in the Pannonian regions to some degree as well, were adopted by peasants and adapted to their own dance traditions. New forms appear side-by-side with the older walked circle dances: an individual couple enters a closed circle dance, in some places couples broke away completely such as in the case of the dance *pod most* which gained in popularity.

Fashionable innovation, particularly through the influence of Dubrovnik and Venice, spread rapidly through the Adriatic sphere. Numerous couples, groups of three and dances in two rows of varied provenience became increasingly frequent in the repertoire of dance

¹² Cvito Fisković, "Iz renesansnog Omiša", Izdanje Historijskog arhiva u Splitu, vol. 6, special edition, 1967: 7. Also V. Vuletić Vukasović, op.cit.: 8.

¹³ Archive of the Martecchini family, Album di Ragusa, Table 32. Found in the City of Dubrovnik Archives.

¹⁴ Slavonians from the village of Orubic dance the circle dance *Palo inje na seleno smilje*, while the people of Turopolje dance *kolo na čardak*, and the Hercegovinians dance *kolo na kolu*.

¹⁵ Kosta Vojnović, "Bratovštine i obrtne korporacije u Republici Dubrovačkoj od XIII do konca XVIII vijeka", Volume 2, *Bratovštine dubrovačke*, JAZU. Monumenta historico-iuridica Savorum Meridionalium, Vol.7/2, Zagreb 1899: XXI, 59, 63.

festivities. We can consider certain such phenomena as Venetian, or more broadly as Italian, while Austrian fashionable influences were different. It is rather difficult to divide one from the other because the very area of Venice, its continental inland section, is in the Alpine dance sphere. As far as the influence of Dubrovnik, the area of the Dubrovnik Republic was a crucial source of spread for various cultural elements. Dubrovnik mediated in spreading dances and dance customs from Spain and the Naples kingdom, through ceremoniarii who taught various skills with weapons and court bearing at the Dubrovnik Court. This is where many elements were introduced to the Dubrovnik vicinity reminiscent of Spain and southern Italian dances, such as castanets. The **moreška** comes from here. The snapping of fingers and holding of the hand when dancing, the relations between partners and certain other stylistic details in the **kolo poskočica (linda)** from the vicinity of Dubrovnik clearly point to their Spanish and Neapolitan models. Ceremoniarii at that time were also dance instructors. Quite a few middle European dance elements also arrived in southern Dalmatia through Dubrovnik thanks to its ties with Hungary. Aside from this, the ceremonial, and therefore many other elements related to festivities, balls and dances, were shared for one period by Hungary and Spain, because the Hapsburgs, following Matthias Corvinus, ruled both countries. Of the visible middle European influences, we should mention the phenomenon of the **lančani plesovi s lukovima i mačevima** (chain dances with bows and swords). In the Europe of the 15th century they were at their heyday, and we have them during the same period in Dubrovnik, at least the one with bows. **Vitlanje zastavama** (Waving Flags) was also modelled directly on the middle European **Fahnentanz**. Then there is the **ples oko majskog drva** (dance around the maypole) which we later note in Dubrovnik, on Hvar, Vis and in certain other areas.

Juraj Šižgorić, in his work "De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici" mentions a 15th century circle dance performed to song.¹⁶ "Damet and Menalko harmoniously sing before Palemonom. During this singing in the circle dance they stamp the earth... Among the Slavs it is even now the custom as in days of old, because when they dance the circle dance they all stamp the ground at the same moment with their feet". This is a remarkably clear description from which we can easily recognize the folk circle dance of the Šibenik vicinity existing even today.

The 16th Century

At the turn of the 16th century we hear of the **starački ples** on Hvar. The Hvar inhabitants claim that Petar Hektorović was particularly fond of it.¹⁷

The priests of Split danced after permission from Bishop Andrija at weddings and first masses. They probably also danced elsewhere, because Marko Marulić advises them:

"..When you join in the dance, my monks...
Lead not the dance, sing not the song,
Walk in dignity, and not as if raging..."¹⁸

¹⁶ Juraj Šižgorić, "De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici", *Hrvatski Latinisti I*, Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti, Matica Hrvatska - Zora, Zagreb, 1969: 146-147.

¹⁷ Fr. S. Kuhač, *Južno-slovenske narodne pobjevke*, Vol. III, Zagreb 1880: 361.

¹⁸ C. Fisković, op.cit. 10: 11.

Marulić is the first to use the name *kolo* (*collo*)¹⁹ or circle dance, then a Dubrovnik law²⁰ mentioned it once in 1515. The word *kolo* finally appeared in the Mihajljo dictionary in 1691.

That same year, Petar Petritić, Zagreb bishop, mentions how sacral songs were being sung to folk melodies. Among the four he lists there were two circle dances: *igralo kolo široko* and *poszeal szem basulek*, both of them still danced today. Commenting on Petritić's statement, Kuhač logically concludes that these songs can be dated "with some certainty to the 15th century".

Petretić also recommends dancers and singers to change old, improper verses with new ones. "Tunes of simple people, particularly those of the female gender often sing, dancing, prancing, working", should be changed to religious words, while the old melodies may remain. So the song *O gloriosa domina* may be danced to the circle dance *igralo kolo široko*.

There is mention in the 16th century of the *moreška* in Split²². The Turks and Moors fight. The Korčula *moreška* probably appeared during this century. It also depicts fighting between the Turks and the Moors, as is also true for an unidentified combination of the *moreška* and the *cerchiate*, which was found in a list of the Dubrovnik Franciscan library²³. As legend has it, the *moreška* was brought to Korčula from Split by Father Luka Ferro in the 18th century. This seems unlikely, since choreological structural analysis and comparisons of these versions speak that a part of the elements of the Korčula *moreška* are older, and that it must have existed on Korčula at the end of the 16th century. Perhaps the Korčula *moreška* evolved in two phases. In the battle dance from Korčula as we know it now, both elements are probably merged.

In works by Dubrovnik writers Marin Držić and Djono Palmotić we also find mention of the *moreška*. In one hand-written manuscript, a copy of Držić's *Tirena*, we find the title: "Tirena, a comedy penned in Dubrovnik, shown at the court in 1548 including the battling style of the *moreška* and a dance in shepherd's style"²⁴. The people of Dubrovnik, therefore, were acquainted with the *moreška*, they had probably picked it up through Spanish instructors (which is where most of Europe learned it), and some agile dancer and teacher probably brought it from there to Korčula. This is also the first mention of a shepherd's or villager's style of dance.

Bans on dancing continued. The Dubrovnik Senate in 1515 forbade the lively circle dance of servant maids or lads that was danced through the streets when going to fetch the groom to bring him to the wedding.²⁵ The Split Archbishop forbade masked priests²⁶ in 1511 and in 1535, as did the 1564 Šibenik synod.²⁷ The religious authorities after the Council of

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ K. Jireček, "Beiträge zur ragusinschen Literaturgeschichte", *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXI Vienna, 1899: 423. Quoted from O. Mladenović, "Kolo u Južnih Slovena".

²¹ Fr. Š. Kuhač, op.cit 15: 127.

²² V. Solitro, "Documenti sull'Istria e la Dalmazia" vol. I, fasc. II, II Venezia 1844...*Diario dell'anno 1571*: 145-146. Thanks to F. Foretić

²³ Vinko Foretić, "Prilozi o moreški u dalmatinskim gradovima", *ZNŽO*, book 42, JAZU Zagreb 1964: 34.

²⁴ Ibid.: 155-156

²⁵ K. Jireček, op.cit. 18.

²⁶ C. Fisković, op.cit.10: 9.

²⁷ V. Jagić, op.cit. 7: 12 and 13.

Trent reinforced various bans related to entertainment and dance customs. Donat Paskvalić, a Split Humanist and schoolteacher in Trogir, held a banquet and ball at his home in 1552 for his students, their parents and some of the other Trogir gentry on the last Carnival evening. Fighting ensued.²⁸ In 1582 Toma Marin, the Trogir city rector, forbade merrymaking, dancing, playing and hiring musicians without his express permission, under the threat of imprisonment or thrashing in public or in the home.²⁹ The Omiš registrar forbade the holding of banquets and playing and dancing in almshouses, except for the First Mass or with the approval of the poor residing there.³⁰

Among archive data from Omiš there is another statement about dance, song, music and games. Dancing went on in front of the Church of St. Micah. And people danced in front of other Dalmatian churches, for example at the Split Peristyle, and in front of the Church of St. Micah in Trogir.

From a court investigation conducted in 1561 by Petar Mussoro, an Omiš judge, we learn about dance with **bagpipes** in front of the church. Petar Ivanac attached Nikola Desenić with a schiavone (a two-edged, basket-hilted sword, trans. note) because of a quarrel during a costume ball. Desenić and his friends **paid the bagpipe player** Marko from Brač **for five dances** in a row. During the fourth of these, Petar began to interfere with the dancing and push to be the **dance leader**. This is the first mention of a bagpipe as accompaniment for dancing, payment for dance and the institution of dance leader.³¹ The bagpipe is mentioned in *Dundo Maroje* by Držić as well.

- Ah, ah, 'swounds, where are the bagpipes, so you can do (rećeš) it to the bagpipe?

Here "rećeš" means - to dance a jumping circle dance, a hopping dance. People use the expression "reći kolo" even today.³²

Italian dances are mentioned on Hvar: the **rugiero** (**rujer**, author's note) and the **spagnoleta** and as a figure they contain the Korčula **moreška**. There is also mention of the **Bagliarda**³³, a dance that later took hold in Istria as well, in vogue throughout Europe in the 15th and 16th century. It is important to us because we can identify it with "prebiranje" in various Adriatic dances, the **prebirat** figure in the Istrian **Balon** and in some other dances. "Prebiranje" is one of the key stylistic characteristics of Adriatic zone dances, and it is called the **hrvatski prebir** occasionally.

And there were two more bans. Both referred to priests. One of the the conclusions from the 1564 Šibenik synod was that clerks were expressly forbidden to dance and sing kolo songs. They were also forbidden to learn dances.³⁴ The 1598 Zadar synod forbade members of the clergy to lead the dance, either privately or in public.³⁵

²⁸ C. Fisković, op.cit. 10: 7.

²⁹ C. Fisković, op.cit. 10: 7.

³⁰ Ibid.: 11.

³¹ C. Fisković, op.cit. 10: 12

³² Božidar Širola, "Sviraljke s udarnim jezičkom", JAZU, Zagreb, 1937, Tisak nadbiskupske tiskare: 298.

³³ Giacomo Filippo Tommasini, *Costumanze nell'Istria*, Archeografo Triestino Vol. IV, 1837: 181.

³⁴ V. Jagić, op.cit. 7: 12 and 13.

³⁵ Ibid., 13.

The 17th Century

Father Frisoni visited the Omiš church in 1603 and stated in his report that he was most disturbed by the dancing and hand ball played before the doors of the parish church. Subsequently he insists on banning them.³⁶

At the Church of St. Simon in Dubrovnik women of questionable character danced and sang before the doors of the church, entertaining vulgar crowds of cobblers and soldiers.³⁷ There is mention in Šibenik, 1611-1617 of the *starohrvatsko kolo*, and with it, the *moreška*.³⁸ They were performed outdoors under clear skies, and in private homes. We learn as much from a trial conducted against various members of the clergy who **beat the moreška** at Carnival time, in public no less. Giuseppe Pignata, a refugee from the Roman inquisition in Holland, happened to be there as he was fleeing along the Adriatic, on Molat Island. Noting the customs, and on that occasion the custom of electing a king, Pignata clearly stated that these were Croats because they spoke "Slavic language". After dining, the king and his entourage went to the square in the middle of which grew a large tree. "Two drummers and one who whistled began their musicking. The king then took some young girl and started dancing with her. Each sang the song as he saw fit, with no trace of harmony. Each took whomever they happened upon, male or female, grabbed them by the hand and danced around. They leaped in the air, each of their gestures was nothing but a grimace, uproarious laughter. They took all sorts of poses and leaped high in the air with legs stiff, in a great circle like harvesters. It was all such a farce that you could burst from laughing."³⁹

Father Pavao Pelizzer from Rovinj, who wrote of his travels, visited Krapanj Island in 1640 where he stayed during the Carnival. He watched the election of the king and the circle dance, joined by monks.⁴⁰

In Jurje Habdelić's dictionaries and in Ivan Belostenec's *Dictionar* and *Gazofilacija*, we find definitions of Croatian words for songs and kolo (circle dance) songs. Special emphasis is placed on ribald songs that are occasionally sung with the kolo circle dance. Under the heading **pessem u kolnom pleszu** we find the **Poszkochnicza**, used to refer to these ribald songs.⁴¹ Belostenec's notion of the **Poszkochnicza** was later applied to joking or humorous circle dances (see Kuhač's classification on p. 94), while today, the **poskočica** is what the kolo in the greater Dubrovnik vicinity is called.

Craftsmen and villagers danced in front of the Franciscan Church in Dubrovnik on Midsummer's Eve. The villagers danced on the threshing grounds for less important holidays, as in Bosanka and on Šipan, and Dubrovnik gentry joined in these dances. Sometimes there would be brawls and fights that were resolved at the Dubrovnik courts.⁴²

³⁶ C. Fisković, op. cit. 10, 17.

³⁷ M. Pantić, "Manji prilozi za istoriju naše starije književnosti i kulture", *Zbornik istorije književnosti SANU*, I, Belgrade 1960: 17. Quoted from O. Mladenović, "Kolo u Južnih Slovena".

³⁸ Ivan Ivančan, *Narodni plesovi Dalmacije I*, ZIF, Zagreb 1973: 298.

³⁹ Giuseppe Pignata, *Les Aventures de Joseph Pignata...* Cologne, 1725. Quoted from Vladimir Cvitanović, "Dva priloga o 'Biranju kraljeva' u Dalmaciji", *ZNZO*, vol. 35, Zagreb 1951: 43.

⁴⁰ Pavao Pelizzer, *Memoria della visita in Provincia di Bosna Argentina nell'a 1640*. Quoted from: Stipan Zlatović, "Izvjestaj o Bosni g. 1640 O. Pavla iz Rovinja", *Starine*, XXIII, JAZU Zagreb 1890: 5.

⁴¹ Olga Šojat, Juraj Mulic (1694-1754) as a Kajkavian writer and an educator and cultural figure. *Kaj*, Zagreb 1983: 20.

⁴² M. Pantić, op.cit. 35: 17.

In order to understand the dance customs in Istria, the facts brought by Valvasor in the 17th century are quite important.⁴³ He describes Croat dances, he writes of the order at balls in Rijeka during processions on patron saint days, the wedding dances and dancing at church fairs in Istria, where influences from Carniola and the north were in evidence as early as the 11th century. This period left a rather clear trace in Istria dance culture. Although most of Istria was under Venetian rule, rather abundant northern influences also infiltrated the area. Valvasor speaks of dancing and jumping in couples. Partners held each end of a kerchief, which points to some figures of the **balon** or the later dance, the **hrvaski**. He further writes that the dance was accompanied by music on a double instrument called the *uidaliza* (clearly today's **vidalice**). Aside from the *vidalica* (double flute) they played the *rosheniza* (*roženice*, author's note). The first dance belonged to the parish priest, and he could sell it for three *libers*, or forty *kreutzers*. The sale of the first dance, and "being first" in the dance, are clearly a venerable tradition, which held on until quite recently in the Kvarner islands. The name of the *kolo* commander in Istria is the **kaput balo** or the **kaput plesi**, probably much older as a name than the Dalmatian name **kapobalo**, and the information provided on 17th century Istrian dance by Novi Grad bishop N. Tommasini⁴⁴. The dances he cites are Italian in origin, but this did not mean that they were only danced by Italians. Furthermore the most important dance among the Istrian Croats was the **balon** or **balun**, as it is still called, and though it has an Italian name, it was banned by Italians, and anyone who chose to dance it could be punished by thrashing and imprisonment. During the Occupation (20th century) of Istria, the Italians considered it an outright expression of Croatian nationalism. Tommasini also mentions the selling of the honor of being dance commander in Buje. In his thinking the most important dance was the **della verdura**, the greenery dance that was danced by boys and girls decked in wreaths. The girls held bows in their hands, and from the description of the dance it is clear that this was later called the **cerchiata** in Dalmatia. We have already mentioned the gentry and cobblers dancing this dance, and in the 15th century, found depicted in the watercolors preserved in the Martecchini family archive; Tommasini says for the dance **della verdura** that he sees nothing that would seem older than that. The dance is performed in two facing rows, and chronologically it is earlier than the spread of German and French contradance in the Croatian territories. The **tanac** and dances later dubbed **hrvaski** and so forth are remnants, in Istria, the northern Croatian coast and the northern Adriatic islands of earlier traditions as far as dancing in two facing rows is concerned. Tommasini, and later other authors surmise that the dance is of Greek origin, left by the Colchi who, purportedly, founded Pula and Koper. The dance, in their opinion, resembles the one that Theseus danced in the labyrinth after conquering the minotaur. The St. Jacob dance was danced in Buje (it is interesting to note that a similar dance was danced in Dubrovnik by the cobblers on saints Philip and Jacob Day, author's note). It was given this name because it was usually performed on a open space in front of the St. Jacob Church. The dance resembled the **della verdura**. Some of the other dances were the **del fiore** (flowers), **dell'occa** (geese), **del pugnale** (knife), but the young people, according to the commentary, had already stopped dancing them. In two of the dances: **il ballo della coda** and the **mal gradito amante**, the leader of the dance, the **mazziere**, i.e. the baton-bearer, held a baton decorated with many-

⁴³ Johann Weichard Freiherr von Valvasor, *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Krain*, Lubach-Nuremberg 1689, Vol II, Book VI, chapter 10: 334.

⁴⁴ G. F. Tommasini op.cit. 31: 74-87.

colored ribbons. The baton-bearer moves the first dancer back to the end of the line, while all the others change places.⁴⁵ These are particularly important details for Croatian choreology because they point to the roots of the baton-bearer in the **balon**, and such a figure still could be seen in this dance, as well as in the **promena** in Istria, as late as the period following World War Two. Clearly the change in the order of dancers in the two above-mentioned 17th century dances and the modern Istrian **promena** are related to this. At the end of the passage on Istrian dance, Tommasini writes about special summer festivities. There was dancing in the streets and squares, especially the **della botte** (barrels) dance. This was performed without the slightest malicious intent and with modesty. If a boy were to squeeze a girl's hand too hard, she would slap him and he wouldn't be able to take part in the kolo for the shame. If he persisted in his aggressive behavior he would be killed, which happened from time to time with outsiders. The **della botte** was probably related to the barrel makers' guild, and it was usually danced with metal rings. Unfortunately we have no further confirmation of this than the name itself, because there is no actual description. According to Tommasini, every festivity during church ceremonies would end with three **gagliarda**, and the Corpus Christi processions in Koper, Piran, Buje and Izola regularly ended with a dance.

One of the most popular dances of the 16th and 17th centuries, besides the **gagliarda**, was certainly the **pavana**. We sense its presence in walking figures of the Istrian **balon** and certain Adriatic dances.

It is difficult to set a date for the time when the dances referred to as **kolo na kat** came to these territories. It was already widespread in Europe by the 16th century. In any case it held on in Croatia until the mid-20th century. These include the **palo inje na zeleno zmilje**, **turopoljsko kolo na čardak** and the Hercegovinian **kolo na kolu**.

We have already mentioned the banner-bearing competitions in Dubrovnik. One finds them even today in the Korčula **kumpanija** when the banner-bearers, the **alfir** compete. Traces of dance customs with flags can be found in the dance of wedding banner-bearers who lead the wedding procession and wave flags to chase away evil spirits.

Although many assumptions suggest that the sword dance (**Kettenschwertanz**), the Korčula **kumpanija** or **moštre** as it is called in different parts of Korčula, and the Lastovo **pokladarsko kolo** were performed as early as the 16th century, we have no evidence to this effect. Furthermore, the earliest known charter, the Žrnovska kumpanija (Žrnovsko Society) charter which dates to 1620, makes no explicit mention of a martial dance: it does mention the sword "Those who might have to leave the dance to go home, would have to seek permission, but they would be granted permission only one by one, and each had to take his own sword", etc. This formulation might possibly suggest that there had been a sword dance, because otherwise why would the participants bring swords with them to the dance?⁴⁷ The swords used today to perform these dances are the **schiafone**, a weapon used by the Venetian doge's body guard which was manned by Dalmatian and "upper city" Croats for whom the blade got its name. This is a two-edged sword with a basket hilt, that is supposed to date, according to some authors, to the 17th century.⁴⁸ From a court case in Omiš in 1561, however, we see that Nikola Desenić was attacked by a **schiafone** sword. This supports our

⁴⁵ Ibid: 74 and on.

⁴⁶ Ibid: 181.

⁴⁷ Ivan Ivančan, *Narodni običaji korčulanskih kumpanija*, ZIF, Zagreb 1967: 89.

⁴⁸ Milan Praunperger, *Oružje starih Hrvata*, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb 1943: 49.

earlier premise for the age of the sword dances in Korčula villages.

In the same century there is record of what are referred to as the **hajdutanci** in neighboring Hungary. This is probably related to the **hajduk** dance recorded in Koprivnica⁴⁹, and it is similar to Turropolje sword dances called the **turski marš** which were performed at weddings until quite recently.⁵⁰

Until quite recently, weddings in Međimurje were led by a couple of captains who made a bridge by crossing swords as part of the ritual, and the bride and groom passed under them. From time to time in the procession they would also leap while brandishing unsheathed swords.⁵¹

The 18th Century

Pavao Riter Vitezović speaks of bonfire gatherings in his work *Natales D(ivo) Ladislavo R(egni) Slavoniae apostolo* published in Zagreb 1701 or 1704, and also mentions that solo choruses of village girls would gather in a circle dance around the fire throughout Slavonia and Lower Croatia at the time of the summer solstice (author's note) singing songs in which a call to "Ilijepi Lado" (Handsome Lado) was repeated following several of the verses.⁵² M. Gavazzi note that circle dances around bonfires were first intended as protection against illness.⁵³

In the early 18th century, more precisely in 1716, there is another bit of information about the **schiaivone** dance for which A. Schneider and B. Širola maintain that it is Croatian. They provide notes and a copper etching which depicts the dancers, making this the earliest recorded Croatian circle dance. The dance in question is between a Venetian gondolier and a woman; it was published in the book of Gregorio Lambranzi *Nuova e curiosa scuola di balli theatri*⁵⁴.

Bans forbidding the clergy to dance are published with growing frequency. One member of the clergy from Orašac was brought before the ecclesiastical authorities in 1714. Dum Boži, as he is called, was reprimanded for taking part in dances called the **kolo**, and even leading them; not only did he take part in the dance, but he even strummed a guitar or played to those who were dancing from time to time.⁵⁵

As we move from the late 17th century to the mid-18th century we find more and more information about dance. Mention is made of dance and music in works of literature. Ivan Gundulić (18th century Dubrovnik writer) refers in *Osman* to a circle dance performed to the accompaniment of pipe, instruments and song, while in *Dubravka* a song resounds:

⁴⁹ Ante Šimčik, "Hajdučki ples", *Hrvatska revija*, 1933: 709-710.

⁵⁰ I was present, thirty years ago, in person at such a wedding.

⁵¹ Marija Ilona Blažeka, "Cirkovljan u Međimurju. Hrvatski ženiđbeni običaji", (The Cirkovljan in Međimurje. Croatian Wedding Customs), *ZNŽO Zagreb* 1939, no. 32/1: 197-199. A group from Prelog performed a part of the wedding custom at a regional festival held in Varaždin, 1950, and captains danced on this occasion with unsheathed sabers.

⁵² M. Gavazzi, op.cit 1: 83.

⁵³ Ibid.: 88.

⁵⁴ Dr. Artur Schneider and Dr. Božidar Širola, "Najstarije zapisano hrvatsko kolo", *Sv. Cecilija*, Zagreb 1926, yr XX, vol. 2: 28-53.

⁵⁵ M. Pantic, op.cit. 35: 19.

Igraj kolo, skočmo bolje
Svak se kaži dobre volje.⁵⁶

Dance the kolo, leap we fine
Everyone has spirits high.

Ignjat Đorić writes:

Bapko u bijeloj počielici
Vodi kolo po ulici.
U tom kolu Anka bosa
I š njom Kate kukonosa.

A lad in a snow white
Leads the dance along the street
In the dance Anka has no shoes
And by her, Kate with crooked nose.

Dances of the Dubrovnik craftsmen were held according to an established schedule. The tailors (*šavci*) and cobblers (*crevljari*) chose a *kolovođa* (leader of the dance), and the choice was valid if at least two thirds of the members were present. By decree, on 2 May 1734 the leader of the dance was elected on the first of April, every year. He had to set the date for rehearsal and name those who would dance. The leader of the dance could excuse people from rehearsals if they had good reason. If they did not, they had to pay a fine of four perpers⁵⁸. In a decree dated 29 April 1779, the Lower Council ordered the rector's musicians to be at the service of the cobblers during their dance before the rector. On this occasion the dancers led the masked *bembelj* through the city, singing an appropriate song.⁵⁹

The earliest record of life and customs in the Požega area in the late 18th century, Tomo Matić writes:

"And so in June 1782, two professors were sent to Požega from the Buda University Matija Piller, professor 'historiae naturalis' and Ludovik Mitterpacher, professor 'oeconomiae rusticae' ... They brought forth the result in the book *Iter per Poseganam Sclavoniae provinciam mensibus junio et julio anno MDCCLXXII susceptum* (Buda, 1783)⁶⁰... "All the people are known for their hospitality, and what Tacitus recorded on the Germans goes even more so for them: "No single people is more compliant in feasts and greeting guests!"⁶¹ "There are virtually no instruments except those two: a bagpipe that blows by mere pressure under the arm into its pipe, and a vocal lyre (*tambura*) with four or six strings. The sorrowful modulation is more favored than the lighthearted one; the circle dance is serious and peaceful, often danced without the accompaniment of instruments, merely to the singing of a dance leader. They are fond of singing the achievements of their kings and dukes, sung according to the rules of song and rhythm."⁶²

Individual patrician families in Dubrovnik held receptions at home with concert performance and dance. At the close of the century many theater groups began to tour the area from other lands. Among these were amateurs from Korčula who danced the *moreška* in 1791 and 1802.

⁵⁶ "Stari pisci hrvatski", IX, Zagreb, 1877. Quoted from O. Mladenović: "Kolo u Južnih Slovena".

⁵⁷ Ibid. XIV, Zagreb 1884.

⁵⁸ K. Vojnović, op.cit. 13Č XXI.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Tomo Matić, "Narodni život i običaji u Požeškoj županiji krajem osamnaestog vijeka", *ZNŽO*, vol. 35, Zagreb 1951: 5.

⁶¹ Ibid.: 10

⁶² Ibid.: 13

Dj. Ferić, an 18th century Latin scholar, writes "Makaronski opis dubrovačkih poklada" (A Humorous Description of the Dubrovnik Carnivals). There is mention of dance to the pipe, bagpipe and instruments. As far as we know he brings us the first detailed description of the Dubrovnik **kolo poskočica**, although he does not name it explicitly.⁶⁴

There is quite frequent mention of dances from other parts of coastal Dalmatia. Archive documents on Vis refer to 18th century dance, with commentary by G. Novak and J. Dulčić. According to Novak, each fraternity had its patron and respects various saints: "This gave the life of the people of Vis the opportunity of entertainment as well as the chance to go to church and holy days. At the church they sang the **lives of the saints**, and the friars sang in the processions of their patron, while in the fields by the fraternal churches the circle dance and other games were played. The people of Vis dance five types of dance. In the first place we have the **kolo**. The **kolo** was danced so that a circle was made by holding hands half a step forward and half a step back. The dance was accompanied by singing. In the middle of the circle stood a flask full of good wine. When the **kolo** ended, all would shout in unison: - **Živio!** - and they'd drink down the wine."⁶⁵ J. Dulčić brings forth information about the **kolo**, a dance called **skočigori** as it is among the Morlaks, on the bagpipes and violin, instruments for accompanying the dance. The people of Vis also perform the **furlana**, and the **mač** (clearly this is the **moreška**, author's note), then the **dracija** (G. Novak refers to it as **della brezzia**), which is identical to central European ribbon dances. There are four types of music. "Some are called, in Croatian, the **gusle** or **tambura**, **lira** (lyre), and the **mišnjice** (bagpipe) is used, which is filled with air and played through pipes or duplice... and the village flute for the grape harvest, for donkey driver music."⁶⁶

In 1770 the **moreška** was danced again in Split, but this time with the **cerchiata**⁶⁷. It was performed by craftsmen according to the oldest Split libretto. J. Bajamonti describes the festivities in honor of General Providura Francesco Faliero for whom the craftsmen performed a dance with weapons. In the manuscript book *In occasione* there was performance by **I patriotici Giuochi della Moresca e Cerchiate l'Anno 1784**. The craftsmen performed them once more.⁶⁸ This is the beginning of a series of **moreška** and **cerchiate** dances (chain dances with bows) in a few of the Dalmatian cities. Vinko Foretić⁶⁹ provides detailed information.

Fortis brings us the first news of the Morlak dances in the 18th century: "Along with singing the songs and the sound of the bagpipe, which is reminiscent of those carried around when leading a bear, the Morlaks perform their favorite dance which is called the **kolo**, i.e. a circle and then it becomes **skozzi-gori**, i.e. jump high."⁷⁰ The same dances are mentioned by his critic I. Lovrić⁷¹. While Lovrić clearly has the dances of the Sinj region in mind, we

⁶³ Nada Beritić, "Iz povijesti kazališta i muzičke umjetnosti u Dubrovniku" (From the History of Theater and Music Art in Dubrovnik). *Analiza historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku*, Dubrovnik 1953: 346-347

⁶⁴ I. Ivančan, op.cit. 36: 9.

⁶⁵ Grga Novak, *Vis*, vol. one, Izdavački zavod JAZU, Zagreb 1961.

⁶⁶ D. Juraj Dulčić, "Nešto muzičkog folkloru sa starog Visa". *Prilozi povijesti muzike otoka Hvara Historijskog arhiva Hvara*, no. 6. Split 1958.

⁶⁷ Cvito Fisković, *Staro splitsko kazalište*. Izdanje Narodnog kazališta u Splitu 1946: 11.

⁶⁸ V. Foretić, op.cit. 21: 159.

⁶⁹ Ibid: 27 and on.

⁷⁰ Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, Volume primo, Venezia 1774: 92.

⁷¹ Ivan Lovrić, *Bilješke o putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa i život Stanislava Sočivice*, Zagreb, 1948, Izdavački zavod JAZU: 109-110.

cannot be certain whether Fortis was referring to an adjacent area, such as Poljice perhaps. The place, time and kind of entertainment in the area known as Morlakia have undergone few changes since the 18th century. Fortis perceptively noted the disintegration of the old *kolo* which "degenerated" into the *skoči gori* which was danced in couples, i.e. in fierce jumping from foot to foot. This process in the Sinj region and Poljice was almost over while, for example in the Vrlika, Knin, Drniš and Trogir inland areas and in Bukovica separation into couples was only beginning from what was otherwise a compact *kolo*. This process was happening all over Europe in the late Middle Ages.

B. Hacquet describes a circle dance of pairs in a circle among the Illyrians, and his quotes are later cited by many authors. In his opinion the circle dance is danced to the bagpipes, lyre or *šalma* (an early oboe).⁷²

As far as the Morlak dances are concerned, he says that they were performed accompanied by songs and that their dance (*plessa*) is customarily a circle dance which includes jumping into the air (*skossigori*). The bagpipe player (*kosslo*) stood in the middle of the circle, and a fiddle was occasionally used as accompaniment (*guszle*).⁷³ This last statement is a little odd. He may have in fact been quoting from Fortis's book on his travels through Dalmatia.

The bulk of historical data refers to dance and dance customs on the Adriatic. This lends any information about dance from the other territories settled by Croats a particular value.

Juraj Muliš, a Jesuit from Turopolje (1694-1754) discusses dance on several occasions, and particularly refers to the **dishonest, indecent, dangerous, valueless** songs that were sung. On dance⁷⁴ in the work *Poszel Apostolski*, in the chapter entitled **Navuk XCVIII, od šeste zapovedi Božje** (The Teaching XCVIII, from the Sixth Commandment of the Lord), he forbids, among other things **dancing (especially among young people, at night, in taverns, inns and in other other dishonest or dangerous company)** because dancing and all those conditions that he mentions increase temptation and lead to sin.⁷⁵ J. Muliš warns pregnant woman to stay away from **dancing and jouncing** because they are hazardous for the health when giving medical advice in the **Regule roditelov i drugih stareših** (Regulations of Parents and Other Elders).⁷⁶

According to Nada Premrl's research, the first ball was organized in the mid-18th century by Countess Maria née Stubenberg, wife of banking official Ludvig Erdödy. It was a masked ball at carnival time and it was both a novelty and a breath of fresh air in the rather modest social life in Zagreb. As always seems to be the case, these balls were publicly condemned by some, and enthusiastically embraced and defended by others. The supporters prevailed, so the balls were held not only at the home of the charming countess, but also in the homes of other Zagreb noble families, at Magistrate Krajačić's house, in the Governor's Palace on Mark's Square and even at the residence of the Archbishop on Kaptol. Dances were the vogue.

⁷² B. Hacquet, "Abbildung und Beschreibung des südwest- und östlichen Wenden, Illyren und Slaven". *Im Industrie-Comptoir*, Erster Theil, vierste Heft 1804: 184.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ O. Šojat, *op.cit.* 39: 22.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*: 82.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*: 17

Count Antun Pejačević built a house with a "ball room" at No.1 Demetrova in 1796.⁷⁷ Stanislav Šumarski, an officer from the military frontier zone, when describing the warfare of the border fighters in Srijem, Banat and Slavonia, mentioned a carefree moment in 1799 at the Kod Zürich tavern when the border fighters danced the *šaranac*, *lesu momačko kolo*, *ketuš* and *jastučić* and the *kolo na kat*. Most of these dances are still performed today by Slavonians, Baranians or the Bačka Croats, and by the Vojvodina Serbs as well.⁷⁸ The description of the stylistic characteristics of these circle dances indicates that they have not changed much to the present.

In 1789 news was published of "ladanje", or the processions of "ladarice" (singers and dancers) around Zagreb. We find this in a contribution by Jesuit Antun Sabolović to K. G. Anton for his work *Erste Linien eines Versuches über der alten Slaven Ursprung...* The text says the following: "Even in my day it was customary for girls to go around all of Zagreb in choruses from house to house and in the singing one heard the frequent use of the words - Lado, lado - lepo je, lado".⁷⁹ This probably dates to the mid-18th century.

M. Reljković in his work *Satir iliti divji čovik* (Satyr or Wild Man) sees in the *slavonsko kolo* a negative social phenomenon in the second half of the 18th century. He is of the opinion that the circle dance allows much too great a freedom, that the moral of young people is undermined. Reljković compares the circle dance to a bacchanalia.⁸⁰

The 19th Century

In the early 19th century, in 1802, we have news of entertainment among peasants in continental Dalmatia, among the Morlaks. According to J. Lavalle, the Morlaks were bursting with health. Their games expressed their strength and agility. They leapt over quite high obstacles, ran with ease, they could heave a large rock quite far, and these were their pastimes. They were fondest of dancing. This was their greatest passion and they threw themselves into it with exaggerated abandon. They danced to the bagpipe or song. The dance was in fact unusually high and extravagant jumping. The Morlaks danced in order to jump, out of a need for movement, from a pleasure in large group movement. Exhaustion from a long trip or hard work interfered in no way with this desire, the passion for the dance. And when it looked as if they must rest, they dedicated several more hours to this pleasure.⁸¹

B. Hacquet in his book on the southwestern and eastern Vendas and Slavs provides a brief description of dancing at a wedding "Getantz bei ihnen Hochzeiten wenig, und das bloß kollo, wobei die ganze Musik ein Dudelsack, Leier oder Schalmel ist". Under the first he has the bagpipe in mind, under the second he means the tambura, lyre or vergl, while it remains

⁷⁷ Nada Premrl, "Ples kao oblik društvenog života u prošlosti Zagreba", *Iz starog i novog Zagreba* no. 5, Zagreb 1974, Muzej grada Zagreba: 139-150. I quote from the manuscript by Stjepan Sremac "Ples u suvremenim folklorim običajima u Hrvatskoj". The manuscript was prepared for publication in the journal *Narodna umjetnost*.

⁷⁸ Olivera Mladenović, *Kolo u Južnih Slovena*, SANU, Etnografski institut. Special edition vol. 14, Belgrade 1973: 35.

⁷⁹ M. Gavazzi, ip.cit. 1: 99.

⁸⁰ Antun Matija Reljković, *Satir iliti divji čovik*, Osijek 1799. Second printing (First printing: Dresden, 1762)

⁸¹ Joseph Lavallee, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et Dalmatie*, Paris, 1802: 57-58.

unclear what he means for the third instrument. This was probably a sopela (a kind of flute) like the šalmaj, which we have no trace of, however, in Lika. Its distribution, however, in the northern coastal area and northern islands permits the plausibility that it may have been found in Lika, especially since along the Dinaric elements the Adriatic are also well represented here. In both music and dance.⁸²

We should add the important words on dance that V. Rastevčić (alias Ante Starčević) published in Lika in 1845 under the title "Nešto pirnih običajih u Lici" (Some Wedding Customs in Lika). This article was reproduced in its entirety in the proceedings of Ethnographic Research and Material II, Croatian National Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, 1940. Here is one of the more important passages on dance: "At this time (during the call to wedding, author's note) two best men must dance a circle dance around the bride, each is given one kerchief... the mother-in-law waits for her help and support in her old age (here reference is to the daughter-in-law, author's note), impatiently holding a little child in her lap by the great fire that burns amidst the house, around which the daughter-in-law taking the babe from its new mother's lap takes three turns around... The members of the household join into the dance as they come, they dance around the fire and then on the threshing floor until they can dance no longer, just as with the bride's father... (When the newlyweds are taken to bed) the circle dance is revived once more - and it is joined by young girls and maids, and even the elders do not forget to join in. The entire village is awakened, and they sing, play, dance, grandmothers hop with hunched back, putting the 16-year-old girls to shame. This game is intended to to make the turnips flourish and the hemp grow high."⁸³

The description of Morlak dance by Šime Ljubić from 1846 is quite detailed "The most common dance found among the Morlaks is the *kolo*, and it is led to the singing of folk songs and to the music of the bagpipe and pipe. This dance was not brought here by the Morlaks when they settled the area, nor was it customary among the Slavic peoples; but they embraced it... from the natives of the area, i.e. from the Illyrians who formerly inhabited these regions, whose custom this was from the first days."⁸⁵ The description of the circle dance clearly points to the six-part dancing still common in the Dinaric areas. Breton hinted at it in 1816 when he wrote of the wedding customs among Dalmatians, saying that they are similar to those of the Uskoks and Morlaks, and that the dance and music resemble those of Lika.

In the 18th century, especially in the beginning of the 19th century, the central European dance wave brought the *Siebenschritt* to this region, where it flourished in various Pannonian zone dances (*haj'd na levo* for example) and in dances of the Alpine and Adriatic zones (*išla žena na gosti, tancaj, tancaj crni kos, šetepaši, kvatropas* and so forth). It split to become the *Schottisch*, with offshoots in local folklore such as the *cotić, dva paša, kolo na dvi strane* and others. It spread in its Scottish version as *Sir Roger* to this part of the

⁸² B. Hacquet, *Abbildung und Beschreibung der südwest und östlichen Wenden, Illyren und Slaven*, vierte Teil, Heft, Leipzig 1804: 174.

⁸³ C. Rastevčić, "Nešto pirnih običajih u Lici", *Etnografska istraživanja i grada* II, Hrvatski narodni etnografski muzej u Zagrebu 1940: 166-172.

⁸⁴ Š. Ljubić, op.cit. 3: 21

⁸⁵ Breton, "Miniaturgemälde uas der Länder und Völkerkunde von den Sitten Swite Lieferung Illyrien und Dalmatine", *Pesth 1816*: 76 and 77.

world under the names of *siroče*, *ja sam sirota*, *tri koraka sim*, *srđim se dušo*, *jabučica*, and so forth.⁸⁶

The Slavonian circle dance and other dances are discussed by Luka Ilić in his book *Narodni slavonski običaji* (Folk Slavonian Customs). They are both, especially the latter, under the exceptional influence of the *čardaš*.⁸⁷

One of the key foreign influences on dance among the Croats and other peoples were the Hungarian *čardaš* dances. Many versions spread with dizzying speed to all sides of the Pannonian plains and further. There was an especially strong influence on the entire Austro-Hungarian territory. The wealth of figures, attractive music and the possibility of a full dance experience made this dance the most popular in this area. It was spread by gypsies, music boxes, programs at festivities, in both urban and rural environments. The *Siebenschritt* and *Schottisch* which appeared somewhat earlier also exerted considerable influence on the dance repertoire of the Croats in all the territories they inhabited except the Dinaric areas, but are relegated to the background. The *čardaš* assumes their role, and this persists to the end of the century, when the *polka* begins to appear at first in parallel to the *čardaš*, and then it takes over completely. Later many forms of these four dances held on in the dance repertoire at balls among the Croats, and they can easily be spotted even today.

The Ukrainian *kolomejka* had a somewhat weaker influence, in parallel with the *čardaš*. Called the *kala-majka* it appears among the Dubrovnik *kontra-dance* in some of the Slovenian examples, but its structure, and partially its style, held on in the superb turn of the *prigorski drmeš*. Perhaps the greatest influence, particularly in the Alpine and Adriatic zones, was played by the *mazurka* which usually appears with its original name.

F. Arrigoni depicts a scene in a large painting (oil on canvas): the beginning of the road through Mali Halan on Velebit, showing several circle dances from Lika. One can clearly discern the posture of the dancers and the direction they move in, to the left. The event took place on 4 October 1832.⁸⁸

Ivan Milčetić presents material in writings from Međimurje on the Croatian Revivalist Stjepan Mlinarić, whose information could date at the latest to 1834. In the section on *Plesanje* (Dancing) Mlinarić writes: "A great strong urge is noticeable among these people to dance. Two kinds of dance are in conflict. The *kolo* was forbidden several years ago; the *kalamajka* is no longer popular, all that is left is the *narodni - national* which they dance and the young girls blush, if they don't know German. And they are agile, and could dance on any mulberry tree; but when Štef joins in (the name of one musician from Prelog who shares his delight with his brother, cymbals, bass, fiddle, prim and contravace and somewhere a clarinet is added) then nothing can stop them. They dance first with little steps, then suddenly right lively, until they have begun to perspire. Then a resounding drone brings the music to a stop, and another dance commences (*forro - or harom a tancz*)". Then Mlinarić describes the *tanc*. From the description it is clear that this is a dance with couples. The partners hold each other by one or both hands. The man turns the woman around under his arm, they dance forward and back, and then he lets the woman go, slaps his hands along the

⁸⁶ Ivan Ivančan, "Međusobni utjecaji i prožimanja parovnog plesanja i tradicionalnog kola". *Rad 27. Kongresa SUFJ, Banja Vrućica 1980: 505-510.*

⁸⁷ Luka Ilić, *Narodni slavonski običaji*, quoted from S. Sremac, op.cit. 97: 58.

⁸⁸ Ivan Ivančan, "Lički narodni plesovi", Special edition of *Narodna umjetnost*, vol. VIII - 1971: 47.

decorations on his boots, and then he grabs her and lifts her up high into the air and the dance is repeated three times.⁸⁹ We can glean quite a few valuable bits of information from this brief description. Mlinarić mentions four important kinds of dance, saying that some were danced by a mulberry tree, and that in the mid-19th century there were already stringed ensembles with cymbals. When describing the *tanc* he provides information about slapping boot decoration as is done today in the *verbunkoša*.

Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski recorded the song *Dora i Franca* in his manuscript collection of Illyrian folk songs in 1841, where there are details described of dancing in a tavern. They are unusually fond of dancing, and usually do it to the accompaniment of bagpipers.⁹⁰

Versions of the same songs can be found in the Ludbreg Songbook (roughly 1933), and Vinko Žganec published it in 1924, recorded in Belica.⁹¹

Between 1800 and 1880 there is abundant information on the entertainment life in Dubrovnik. House parties included theater performances, especially at weddings. In the middle of the house there was usually a large room where parties and balls were held, usually with a limited number of guests. New dances were introduced from abroad. The *menuet* was no longer danced, but old Dubrovnik dances such as the *monferina*, *rusa*, *gorka*, *poviruša* and *majka Mara* were still danced.⁹² O. Vandja Kuzmić recorded certain examples of *kontradanc* at the turn of the century. Under the common name of "Contradanza croatto" he brought recordings of the dances *poviruscia* and *majka Mara*. This was also the period when the *kontradanc* in two rows began to turn into the *kvadrilje*. The dancers stood at the corners of a square. On Mayday the *Družina* decorates a may pole, and around it they perform "the circle dance and other folk dances". The authorities aid the *Družina* and fine the members of fraternities who do not take part in the dances. The young people had to dance a circle dance before the Rector's residence, as their ancestors did before them.⁹³

In the early 19th century the *Korčula moreška* dancers performed in Istanbul, and the *moreška* and *cerchiate* were performed throughout Dalmatia. This was the case in 1818 on the Split Peristyle during Emperor Francis' visit⁹⁴, again in 1822 in Split, Trogir and Hvar⁹⁵, and again in Split and Hvar, and then in Split in 1838 and 1861⁹⁶. There is one instance mentioned in 1869 when the dances were performed in Sinj, Zadar and Split⁹⁷, but we have much earlier word of this from Zadar, accompanied by detailed commentary. Although the *moreška* was performed in Zadar by Italians, Kraglski Dalmatin writes an interesting note on the *moreška* performed in 1807 which says: "After that on the square that was in the

⁸⁹ Ivan Milčetić, "Hrvatski priloz iz Međimurja i okolice grada Šoprona I. Jedan hrvatski preporoditelj iz Međimurja", *Grada za poviest književnosti Hrvatske*, vol. 8, JAZU, Zagreb 1916: 417-418.

⁹⁰ Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Narodne pesni-ilirske*. Skupio u Međimurju i Austriji godine 1841. Manuscript M.H. 192: 7-8.

⁹¹ Vinko Žganec, "Hrvatske pučke popijevke iz Međimurja", Part 1, secular, *Zbornik jugoslavenskih pučkih popijevaka*, Vol. 1, Zagreb 1924.

⁹² Josip Bersa, *Dubrovačke slike i prilike (1800-1880)*, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb 1941: 107-108.

⁹³ Ibid: 52.

⁹⁴ V. Foretić, op.cit. 21: 161.

⁹⁵ C. Fisković, op. cit.: 7.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

middle the ancient dance of the Moreska was shown. This dance brings to mind several amusing opinions of the old times and from the Middle Ages, such as the Tanec piriski (), the cavalries of Arabian Spain, the military dances of the Crusaders on the way back from Palestine. After this dance there were folk dances which were given for the Craftsmen and Townspeople on the folk holidays, but also for events such as this one⁹⁸ Clearly Croats were leading this circle dance, and he speaks even more clearly on the subject in 1813 when he says of a circle dance: "Many people create a chain holding each other by the hands or kerchiefs. At a certain moment the dance begins, it moves through the streets of the cities and villages creating various figures that consist of linking the leaders of the chain dances, in passing under an arch formed by the dancers' hands and so forth. The dance is often different when it is danced by women alone. A man stands at the head of the chain which is linked by a kerchief that is held in the hand for one link. It was danced only by peasants on squares, and often, as is the case with Greek dance, the dancers came onto the main city streets and danced down them. I do not know what the dancing in theaters used to be like. It might have been a dance with figures that was danced for the carnival in halls of Slavic company"⁹⁹ The **moreška** was performed in Zadar once again in 1811¹⁰⁰ and in 1813 (mentioned above) for the liberation of Zadar from the French and the entrance of Austrian troops headed by General Tomašić. On that occasion the **kolo** described above took place.¹⁰¹ The **moreška** was further performed in Zadar in 1818, and in 1846 a brochure was printed by the Battara Bros. Printing Press on the **moreška**. That same year two **moreška** dances were held, and the Zadar **moreška** dancers visited Trieste. It was performed once again in 1866 and 1869.

At this point it became popular to record folk songs, including those sung in accompaniment to circle dancing. In 1819, according to J. Ravlić, there was an attempt in Dalmatia to collect local folk songs and melodies in an organized fashion, but the attempt failed for lack of people trained in recording melodies.¹⁰²

Mihovil Pavlinović, however, did manage to amass considerable material, and many poems are recorded specifically as circle dance songs, or they follow texts identical to those preserved in the circle dance of various parts of Croatia, practically to the present.¹⁰³

Stjepan Sremac, in his article "Ples u suvremenim folklornim običajima u Hrvatskoj" (Dance in Contemporary Folklore Customs in Croatia) is right in concluding: "In general the historical data on dancing in the region between the Sava and Drava rivers are scarce", as are traces of old knowledge of the former dance custom.. We have mentioned information on dancing in Zagreb in the 18th century as published by Nada Premrl (see note #77). A house built by Count Antun Pejačević was sold in 1803 to Count Emilijan Kulmer, and in 1807 to Count Amade who held the performances of travelling theater in the spacious ballroom, along with balls. S. Sremac, when commenting Premrl's information, notes how the middle class in the early 19th century took upon themselves the organization of entertainment. New

⁹⁸ V. Foretić, op.cit. 21:161.

⁹⁹ C. Sabalich, *Cronistoria aneddotica del mobile teatro di Zara (1781-1881)*, Liberia editrice Angelo Nani e figlio, Zara: 80.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.: 66.

¹⁰¹ Ibid: 80, including note.

¹⁰² Jakša Ravlić, *O pokušaju sabiranja narodnih pjesama i melodija 1819. u Dalmaciji*, Special edition ZNŽO. Zagreb 1964. JAZU: 303-305.

¹⁰³ Mihovil Pavlinović, "Narodne pjesme iz Dalmacije i drugih krajeva". See *Manuscript collection of ZIF*, no. 58/53.

Archery Grounds were built in Tuškanac. In 1846 the Illyrians purchased the Karl Drašković palace on Opatička Street and transformed it into a National Center for the cultural, entertainment and political life of Zagreb. A year earlier, in 1845, Hungarian sympathizers had leased the hall at No. 1 Demetrova and had turned it into a Casino, to counter the Illyrian National Center. According to N. Premrl, balls were held only during carnivals.¹⁰⁴

Following Sremac's article we learn that the main organizers of balls during the Revival (Preporod) period were lawyers and archers, and the informer used for this theme, Dubravka Franković, says that carnival dances were organized so that patriotic fervor would be the subject of the carnival.¹⁰⁵

The National Revival (1835-1850) made special contributions to collecting and applying Croatian folklore. Vraz, Gaj and other members of this movement compiled questionnaires, urged the collection of folklore material, and did so themselves. Croatian songs and dances, and "Illyrian" in general were opposed to Hungarian, Italian and other foreign ones. Songs were composed in folk mode, and circle dances much like Croatian peasant ones were created. Livadić's call to action "Još Hrvatska ni propala" (Croatia Has Not Yet Fallen) spread with unbelievable speed and is still on the dance repertoire in some parts of Croatia as the *hrvatski tanac* or old *polka*. The same melody can be found in Slovenian dance lore, such as in the *trojka* in Prekomurje.¹⁰⁶ Illyrian Revivalist women wore folk costumes and created their dance garb in folk style for balls. The nucleus of similar tendencies actually predates the National Revival. For example, when Francis I visited Zagreb in 1818, young noblemen dressed in folk costume sang and danced the *kolo* to the music of folk song *Zaspal Janko*, to lyrics by Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac. A record of this was found by Fr. Kuhač in the papers "Plessopiszen" at a Koprivnica monastery.¹⁰⁷

Along with the tricolors and the coat of arms, national elements cropped up in dance music as well, for the *valcer* (waltz), *polka*, *galopa* and *mazurka*. 18th century dances were still performed as well, however, such as the *menuet* (minuet), *cottillon* and *quadrilla* (*quadrille*). Due to its non-Slavic origins, the *valcer* was the focus of criticism, but it adapted to the patriotic euphoria because it was danced to Croatian melodies. Count Jurica Oršić who gave this command said that "patriotism was satisfied, yet the Walzer was danced". The *narodno kolo* (or folk circle dance) was also danced. *Danica ilirska* reports, in 1840: "Great attention was awakened by a group of costumed people dressed in folk attire, who were led into the hall by bagpipe players, and accompanied by the regular clapping of hands they performed a folk circle dance".¹⁰⁸ This was evidently a group from the northern or probably the northwestern parts of Croatia, where the bagpipe was the most common accompaniment to a circle dance.

One document dispatched to Križevac stated that at the carnival dance "a folk dance, almost entirely forgotten by all, the *kolo* was danced, if not with the greatest authenticity, at least with general clapping of hands and to the great delight of all it was performed in a lively way."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ N. Premrl, op.cit. 70: 6

¹⁰⁵ Dubravka Franković, "Uloga ilirske štampe u muzičkom životu Hrvatske od 1835-1849". *Arti musices*, Zagreb 1977, no. 8/1. Quoted from S. Sremac, op.cit. 70.

¹⁰⁶ Mirko Ramovš, *Plesat me pelji*, Cankarjeva založba, Ljubljana, 1980: 149

¹⁰⁷ Josip Andreis, Dr. Dragutin Cvetko, Stana Đurić-Klajn, *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb 1962: 108.

¹⁰⁸ N. Premrl, op.cit. 70: 7

¹⁰⁹ Ibid: 8.

S. Sremac mentions a fact recorded about 1838 by I.A. Brlić and published in 1885 by his son Ignjatije in the booklet *Uspomene na stari Brod* (Reminiscences of Old Brod). Brlić writes on the carnival dance: "There is usually one dance along every street, on the bridges, on every saint's day, Thursday and Sunday from the Three Kings' to the last carnival Sunday, and during the last week there was dancing every day, without bagpipes, tamburas or musical instruments, with singing only. And then the costumed dancers gathered, and they danced each of them in the dance; the dance was usually of young girls or maids without boys dancing, and finally the boys would mix in and the dance would proceed with more spirit. The *kolo* is still danced in Brod, not on every street but rather at two or three places throughout the town, and only in the last carnival week. Even today the *kolo* songs are sung, but instead of the good old-fashioned *kolo* songs, all you hear are new-fangled vacuous songs sung to those arias". Among the later references to the *kolo*, Brlić mentions the *kolo* with song, and the bagpipes, while as the most recent instrumentation he mentions the drum and flute. Clearly this is a type of small *zurna*, or as they are called even today in Banija, the gypsy (ciganjska) flute. The duet of musicians was Jozo Luić Ciganin and his daughter Mara. The music they played was called *rakocina* and Mara played the drum until 1830.¹¹⁰

The celebration of folk-consciousness prevailed even after the Revival and lasted with considerable intensity into the second half of the 19th century. In cities special Croatian *kolo* dances were composed, and *četvorke* take the place of the foreign *kvadrilja* (*quadrille*) which is French and English in origin. Dance orchestras began to lean decidedly towards the tambura. The Croatian orchestra became synonymous with tamburitza playing even in Dalmatia where it clashed with Italian mandolin groups, as it did with Hungarian fiddlers in northern Croatia. The abovementioned fashion novelty of the *čardaš* was replaced by the *drmeš*, the *hrvatski tanec* and the *tanec*.

Stjepan Sremac has written a major work on the *hrvatski tanec*, *drmeš*, *čardaš* and the origin of the *drmeš*.¹¹¹ We have taken two facts from this article, each of which will be later dealt with in detail. The thoughts I bring forth on the same issue stem from an earlier period, independent of Sremac's article. The *čardaš* in smaller circles or groups of four replaces the *kolo*. Change is more likely to occur in the name, melody, accompaniment and added lyrics, than in the actual structure of the dance. In certain dances one can clearly discern the structure of the *čardaš* even today. In some of the versions of the *krčki tanac* in groups of three it is entirely identical to figures of the *trojni čardaš*. For example, in the *tanac* from Pag Island, Kolan or Novalja, one can not only discern a kind of *čardaš*, but the steps, even the style, are the same. Much the same can be said for certain forms of the *drmeš* and *kolo* in northern Croatia. As to the *tanac*, the one from Krk, for example, even the costume has been adapted to the *čardaš*; it resembles the Hungarian costume, and the skirt is tailored so that it spreads as bell-like as possible while the dancer moves. It would be hard, however, without analysis of dance structure, to draw an analogy between the Hungarian and Krk dance. The sound of the *sopilas* (a pair of large and small single flutes), the rhythmic structure of some of the added figures, especially the style, are emphasize the difference between the two dances. As is the case in similar situations, the music and stylistic features of an earlier tradition usually predominate over incumbent novelty. However a sharp eye will

¹¹⁰ Ibid: 3,4 and 5.

¹¹¹ Stjepan Sremac, "O hrvatskom tancu, drmešu, čardašu i porijeklu drmeša", *Narodna umjetnost*, Zagreb, 1983, vol. 20: 57-54.

note the identical structure shared by the two dances. And Fr. Kuhač had just such a sharp eye. He collected songs, circle and other dances, and judging by the commentary that he appended to them, he is certainly the first Croatian ethnochoreologist. He records the many forms of the **hrvatski tanac**, among other things, and places them in a clear relation to the forms of **čardaš**: The people want to be completely free in their dances. You can take from them, in that sense, but you musn't add anything... "I don't want to know how it is danced in Hungarian". This shows - in my opinion - a certain national pride, something truly Slavic that strives to be indigenous, a world unto itself, and that cares not to adopt from other worlds, while at the same time it would not have anything foreign imposed".¹¹² In spite of this, in his descriptions of some of the dances Kuhač places special emphasis on their similarity to the **čardaš**. He is angered by this: "The **hrvatski tanac** from Samobor is danced almost exactly as the Hungarian **csardas** is, and therefore one can not even know which people it originally belonged to. It is the main dance among the Croatian Kajkavians, and there are regions here where they hardly know the **kolo** at all. The **tanac**, however, is also danced on the northern Croatian coast and in Slavonia, but one finds other forms of the **kolo** and other dances there as well". In the accompaniment, none too pure, of the Samobor **gusla** players he picked up a hint of **Još Hrvatska**, the call to action, in the dance, which does appear in the **tanac** from time to time, even today.¹¹⁴ He was particularly irate with the people of Međimurje and Podravina because they danced the **hrvatski tanac** "exactly as if it is a Hungarian **čardaš**".¹¹⁴ Except for providing a breakdown of dances into **new**, **medium-old** and **old**, Kuhač classifies them according to location, music and stylistic features, into the: **sigre odrasle mladeži** (dance games of young people), **muška** (male) or **junačka kola**, **ženska** (female), **kola poskočnice** - hopping dances (**šaljiva** -joking, or **vesela** - lively **kolo**) and the **ples** or **tanac**. For each of these categories he gives he provides clear characteristics and current folk dances are easily categorized according to Kuhač's classification. For certain dances he provides background on distribution, the occasion upon which the dance was performed, magical and ritual meaning, the way the dance is led, and a description of the dance leader, transformation of dance customs, interpretation of dance terms, and in some he provides a description of dance steps. He places special stress on the social role of the dance, the freedom and democratic role it plays, the equal standing of all participants. He records a large number of dance melodies, their texts and provides all versions he can find in the southern Slavic territory including Bulgaria. He uses older records, for example those of Luka Ilić, Mihovil Pavlinović, Vuk Vrčević, Ferdo Rusan, Kukuljević-Sakcinski and others. He wrote a special piece called "Ples i plesovna glazba" (Dance and Dance Music)¹¹⁵, and in an issue of *Vienac*, 1872, he describes the "Dvoransko kolo" of Dubrovnik canon Đure Ferić, Ivan Gundulić and Jefta Popović.¹¹⁶

His explanation of the origin of the **dvoransko kolo** in two figures is quite worthwhile. In Kuhač's interpretation the **dvoransko kolo** was choreographed in 1841 by Marko Bogunović, a senior officer of the Krajina Brod Brigade. He arrived in Zagreb in the name of the committee regulating the Sava River waters, and with him he brought this dance. "The

¹¹² Fr. Š. Kuhač, op.cit. 15: 319-320.

¹¹³ Fr. Š. Kuhač, op.cit. 15: 347.

¹¹⁴ Ibid: 335.

¹¹⁵ Kuhač's correspondence, INV no. 1691: 13.

¹¹⁶ Fr. Kuhač, op.cit. 15: 252.

younger men and women in the Revivalist Movement requested that he teach them this **kolo**. Bogunović and his comrade Hreljanović were delighted to comply. And when Bogunović heard that our Illyrians wanted to learn the **hrvatsko kolo**, for he had called his the **kolo slavonsko**, he composed his own **hrvatsko kolo**. Each **kolo** (one in 2/4 and the other in 3/4 time) had only two figures, and each consisted of an adaggio and an allegro. Bogunović gave Lisinski the music for the first figure of the **slavonsko kolo** in notes as Gavro Jakopović claims, that the manager of the military band composed on the basis of Bogunović's singing and whistling. Lisinski composed the first music for the **hrvatsko kolo**, and only for one of the figures, for if each of the kolos had two figures, these two figures were danced to the same music. The **slavonsko** and **hrvatsko kolo** were first performed at a folk festivity held at the Archery Ground on 27 January 1842, each of the dances was arranged for orchestra, it seems, by Chaplain Kirchofer, since he instrumentalized the waltzes that Lisinski composed for the occasion.¹¹⁷ Ljudevit Vukotinović referred to the gala held at the Archery Grounds in Danica and noted that these dances lack in folk color. Kuhač continues: "Due to this fully founded complaint, Bogunović, Hreljanović and Gavro Jakopović all agreed, and came up with seven figures for the **slavonsko kolo** and six figures for the **hrvatsko kolo** in the mode of other conversation dances. Lisinski then composed different music for each figure."¹¹⁸

In S. Sremac's paper, when interpreting D. Franković's work, the author presents and names individual figures, but there are only six per **kolo**. The **hrvatsko kolo** performed in 1843 had **Naklon** (bow), **Venac** (wreath), **Lanac** (chain), **Zvezda** (star), **Burma** (wedding ring), **Mesec** (moon) while the **slavonsko kolo** had **Osmica** (figure of eight), **Zvezda** (star), **Karika** (link), **Oblica**, **Tociljalka** (sliding or skating), **Prolaz** (passing through). Both are dances performed in 1848 at the Lawyer's Carnival Ball in Zagreb.

In his work "Ples i plesovna glazba", Kuhač presents in an interesting manner his premise on the influence of sociopolitical circumstances on the formation of individual dances, proving even more that he is the first Croatian ethnochoreologist. "Dance does not merely convey the spirit and disposition of a people, but also its politics. Each new political undercurrent produces a new form of dance"¹²⁰ Kuhač's premise is proven after his death with the appearance of dances such as the **radikalka**, **kraljevo kolo**, partisan dances and others. Kuhač also dwelt on the history of dance: "In the Middle Ages, when the powers-that-be demanded limited intelligence from the serfs in order to protect vested interests, dance was transformed into a kind of illness, into some sort of political nonsense. Half the world was dancing the **ples svetoga Vida**, **vrzino kolo**.¹²¹ The **vrzino kolo** or witch's dance has survived in Slavonia to the present, for instance as the dance **ej grišće plandovišće**.¹²² The question is, whether the remains of **tarantism**, shaking with the whole body, such a prominent part of the **ples svetoga Vida** are visible today in the **drmeš** and **drobničica**, **drmačiva**, dances of the Pannonian and Alpine zones.

¹¹⁷ Fr. Š. Kuhač, *Vatroslav Lisinski i njegovo doba*, Zagreb, 1887: 29. Quoted from S. Sremac "Franjo Š. Kuhač, zapisivač narodnih plesova", *Zbornik radova JAZU*, Zagreb 1984: 211.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ N. Premrl, op.cit.: 7.

¹²⁰ Fr. Š. Kuhač, *Ples i plesovna glazba*, Zagreb, 1893: 3. Quoted from S. Sremac, op.cit. 103.

¹²¹ Ibid.: 6.

¹²² Ivan Ivančan, *Narodni plesovi Hrvatske 1*, Savez muzičkih društava Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1956: 41.

In his article on Croatian dance, S. Sremac provides information from Sisak quoting Arthur Evans, English archeologist and travel writer.¹²³

Upon entering an inn, he and his company found themselves “amidst a Croatian festivity; an orchestra of four men was playing, the tamboura and tambourica were ringing, and everything was accompanied by a strange movement, twisting and thumping. They were performing a dance they call the *čardaš*, the Germans call the *Kroatisch*, and the Croats claim to have learned it from the Hungarians. The dance is performed by women, but many aggressive men pushed into the dance... Any multiple of six and two can dance. So there were six Croatian girls lined up in two groups of three.” It is interesting to note that there was a similar dance, except the groups consisted of four girls each, recorded twenty years or so ago in Lika called the *hrvatski* or *mišnjača*.¹²⁴ Evans proceeds to say that there were other circle dances at the Sisak inn where men danced as well. They were different for their “rhythm, shaking and frequent shouts of comic interjections”.

There are more detailed accounts of dancing in 19th century Dubrovnik, especially dances related to the celebration of the St. Blasius saint's day. “It is time to go to the theater, where the parish stubborn *poskočica* alternates with the *Viennese waltz* and the retained *kadrilj* (*quadrille*). On the edge of the stage sits the *Lindo*, a man from *Župa* and strums the lyre; that is the popular orchestra; he props up the *lijerica* (lyre) with his left leg while he pounds out the rhythm on the floor with his right foot; he pounds out the brief motif in full harmony. The lyre does occasionally stop, but the Lindo keeps up by beating on his instrument with his hand; it is a joke of his and anyone who isn't used to it thinks that the dance is done; the dancers he fools stop dancing, and everyone stumbles over them, and they'd come over and beat up the Lindo if he didn't start strumming the lyre again”.¹²⁵ The Dubrovnik nobility held as many as three parties during Carnival time, and they usually ended with dancing.¹²⁶ Tradesmen and the lower level citizenry held dances and balls in private homes at Carnival time, and later, when many newcomers moved to Dubrovnik, *kavalkins* and *veljuns* opened in inns.¹²⁷ *Kavalkins* were held until fifty years ago throughout Dalmatia. On St. Thomas' Day a great *Konavle* fair used to be held in Dubrovnik.¹²⁸, and the Dubrovnik ladies would prepare with their *spravljenice* (maids) what were called *sprave*, dancing parties. These were usually in *Konavle*.¹²⁹ The *kontra-dance* are still danced with a chamber string orchestra, which later gave birth to the *četvorke*, *quadrille*. They danced the *ragusea*, *povirusa*, *kala-majka*, *slevača*, *majka Maru*, *la barcola* and the *pobjeda*. All the music recordings are presented by Kuhač.¹³⁰ As far as village dance is concerned, there are two watercolors dated 1892 in the Marticcheni family

¹²³ Arthur Evans, *Pješice kroz Bosnu i Hercegovinu tokom ustanka augusta i septembra 1875*, revised edition, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo 1973: 110-111. Original published in London, 1877. Quoted from S. Sremac, op.cit. 97.

¹²⁴ I. Ivančan, op.cit. 1

¹²⁵ J. Bersa, op.cit. 79: 118-120.

¹²⁶ Ibid.: 126 and 127.

¹²⁷ Ivan Hristijan see Engel, *Povijest dubrovačke republike*, Translated, annotated and revised by Ivan can. Stojanović, second edition, Dubrovnik 1922: 363.

¹²⁸ Ibid.: 433-423.

¹²⁹ Ivan can. Stojanović, *Dubrovačka književnost*, Srpska dubrovačka akademska omladina, Dubrovnik 1906: 110.

¹³⁰ Fr. Š. Kuhač, op.cit. 15: 366.

archive. One shows a Konavle folk dance to the bagpipe, and the other an aristocratic dance, the third dance of the Župa residents to the lyre.¹³¹

Aside from the abovementioned collectors of the national folklore tradition, Ljudevit Kuba holds a special place. He traveled through middle and southern Dalmatia. His observations on dance in the continental part of Dalmatia are particularly interesting. He notes that city dances did flourish well here because the musical automat hadn't been accepted yet. Kuba distinguishes the small Slavonian shaking from the high Dalmatian leaping. He is the first to mention heterorhythmics between dance and the accompanying song. He is the first to mention Dinaric six-part dancing and improper military commanding instead of dance prompting, which appeared in some parts of continental Dalmatia, while only recently it was still seen at fairs in the Imotska region.¹³²

In Split, Zadar and Sinj in the second half of the 19th century they were still dancing the **moreška**, and one such instance is described by V. Radica in 1897 in the magazine *Gimnastika*, mentioning that the same dance as he describes was also performed in the first half of the 19th century on Vis.¹³³

The Korčula **kumpanija** has held on to present, as have the Lastovo **pokladarsko kolo**, sword or saber dances much like the **cerchiate** mentioned above which was also danced with bows. The **kumpanija** or **moštre** as it is called on Korčula even today, the **moštra** or **ples od boja** are mentioned in 1897 for the first time. Petar Kuničić described them quite exhaustively.¹³⁴ Kuničić also mentions the **blaski tanac** as a dance inevitably performed after the sword dance. The Lastovo **pokladarsko kolo** is of the same Carnival type. One fact tells us how the people of Lastovo changed their iron swords for wooden sabers after an incident in 1866, when rowdy revellers attacked gendarmes with their swords.

In 19th century Istria the dances of the Croats and Italians were completely distinct, as they still are today. And musical instruments accompanying the dance were different. At weddings they danced the **diabolezza** and the **grossvatertanz**, otherwise the **ecossaisentour** (**šotiš**), an ordinary folk dance, and the most popular at that time, the **forlana**, similar to the **cotillon**.¹³⁵ The dance game called the **ballo di cariega** is also found here.¹³⁶ Interestingly enough not a single writer mentions the **balon**, though it is undoubtedly the most widespread, popular and important dance of the Istrian Croats. The great popularity of the **furlana** and its semblance to the **balon** leads us to believe that the **balon** may have been danced at some earlier time under a different name or names, which may be why chroniclers make no mention of it. The **kolovođa** with a cane¹³⁸ may have been taken from the **cotillon**, while quite a few of the figures may have come from the **tanac**, called the **hrvaski** during the Revival period. As the **ländler** and **dreher** caught on, from Austria southward, Istrians caught on to new dances easily, because the **hrvaski** gave them a good basis to learn from. The old dance in two facing lines changed its spatial form (as happened

¹³¹ Op.cit. 11, tables 58, 57 and 56.

¹³² Ljudevit Kuba, "Narodna glazbena umjetnost u Dalmaciji", *ZNŽO*, vol. IV, Zagreb 1899: 172.

¹³³ Vjekoslav Radica, "Moreška - Igra u mačevanju", *Gimnastika*, no. 2, 1897 and continued in nos. 4 and 5, 1897.

¹³⁴ Petar Kuničić, *Kumpanija iliti družba narodno bojni ples*, Tiskara Antuna Scholza. Zagreb 1897.

¹³⁵ Ivan Ivančan, *Istarski narodni plesovi*, Institut za narodnu umjetnost, Zagreb 1963: 18.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.: 18-19.

¹³⁸ Ibid.: 19.

with counterdances that transformed into fours, i.e. couples lined up in a circle, which was not foreign to Istrian dance folklore. And some new spinning was accepted which had its basis in the **hrvaski** spinning. The **prebir**, an old figure, held on, producing an attractive figurative dance. This is probably why it spread so far. The names **kolo**, **korak** and **drmeš** appear, but they only contain a fragment of the **balon**.

The first instructors of social dancing began to arrive. First Alojzije Deperis came from Trieste in 1842, and then after the period of Bach Absolutism Baron Ambroz Vraniczany invited Pietro Coronelli, dance teacher at the Rijeka Naval Academy to come to Zagreb and instruct his daughter Klotilda in dance. In 1860 Coronelli opened a dance school at the Archery Grounds on Tuškanac where he worked until his death in 1902. His work was continued until 1965 by his daughters Elvira and Bianka¹³⁹. In the late 19th century the main organizers of elite dances were the Red Cross Society, Kolo (Croatian Singing Society), Sokol, Sveto Savska Besjeda, The Plitvice Lakes Improvement Society, and so forth. The major dances were held in the Sokol and Kolo buildings, and the most elite ball was at the Croatian Music Hall, built in 1875. Franjo Bučar describes one such elite ball.¹⁴⁰

The 20th Century

European fashion innovation spread with increasing speed to the dance repertoire among Croats. New dances formed, older ones were transformed.

The re-activated **Siebenschritt** had a growing influence on the dance repertoire of the Alpine and Adriatic zones. The consequences of its split became increasingly evident and with it the derivatives **Schottisch** and **polka** continued to develop independently and exist in parallel in growing numbers of variants. In Croatia this split acquired particular forms and regional spread.

We have already discussed how the **Schottisch** first split off from the **Siebenschritt**, and then in the late 19th century the **polka** developed from the **Schottisch**. It experienced unheard of expansion in its own right, more than any other dance before.

All three dances exist for couples as well, sometimes identical in dance to the original from Middle Europe¹⁴¹. But, aside from this they already transformed as dances of couples, but exerted a powerful influence on the circle dance, particularly on its rhythmic structure. The circle dances sometimes took over parts of the melody of the music accompaniment, and rarely even the texts used for dances with couples. This is particularly true in the Alpine and Adriatic dance zones. The style of the old circle dance did not, however, change too radically. The tradition was the most consistent here.

The typical **Siebenschritt** is the Slavonian dance **hajd na levo**, but completely in Slavonian style. Furthermore the famous **polka** three-step, two eights followed by a fourth note, is prestylized in the older where two eights follow the fourth note. The variant from the Požega region, however, has a polka three-step, as does the one from Daruvar called the **seka Persa**. The same can be said for the **zavrzana** circle dance from Požega. The Lika **hajd na**

¹³⁹ Ibid.: N. Premrl, op.cit. 70: 9-10.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.: 10-11.

¹⁴¹ I. Ivančan, op.cit. 76.

lijevo is only partially performed in a circle dance, because its other part is danced in couples. This is also true of the circle dance **u zoru prid zoru** from Hvar Island, although there they have the **Siebenschritt** in classic couple form called the **četiri paša**. **Tancaj, tancaj črniki** from Croatian Zagorje is danced in a circle, or combined with couples. In its transformations, the **Siebenschritt** often repeats its first or second part or both, each separately. This is the case with the hill region circle dance **ženil se je sirotek**. And the famous **seljančica** may have derived from the **Siebenschritt**.

Either directly or through **Schottisch** variants such as the **sir Roger** and the **čardaš**, of which some of the variants can be traced back to the **Schottisch**, it has influenced the formation of some circle dances, mostly in the Pannonian zone. These are Slavonian circle dances such as the **dere**, **Ćire**, **stiglo pismo iz Bosne** and the **četvorka**. **Taraban**, which is found beyond Slavonia as well, is also a **Schottisch**, but with repetition of the first and second parts, each separately. There are several variants of the Podravina circle dance **lepa Anka kolo vodi** and the Baranja dance **jabučice** which was danced in threes.

The influence of the polka is difficult to follow, in part because its three-step was found in the two earlier dances, while the **Schottisch** is occasionally called the **old polka**. Aside from this the **polka** absolutely dominated balls at the turn of the century and the first three decades of the 20th century. It was performed in countless versions. The term **polkati** (to polka) was used instead of **tancati** (to dance). The Slavonian circle dance **poskakanac** consists exclusively of polka three-steps. It was adopted by many of the early Dinaric circle dances, including the **ličko** and various Dalmatian and Hercegovinian dances. The polka three-step infiltrated into the **drmeš**, both from Podravina and Prigorje, as well as into other circle dances in the Pannonian zone. Quite visible, and occasionally decisive, is the transformation of what was formerly three-part **prebiranje** in Adriatic dances, to three-step **prebiranje** of the polka, such as in the **paški tanac**, **pelje ki** and certain versions from Krk Island.

Numerous variants of the **polka** itself appear separately on the dance inventory at balls, and their sections are interpolated into old circle dances. The **Spitzbaum-polka** with beating feet upon the floor, clapping and wagging fingers has left clear traces in a number of couples dances, but also in Slavonian circle dances: **tape**, **tapše**, **tapučica**, **papučica**, **Lenka**, the Podravina circle dance **postajale cure oko kola**, the Bilogorje **slavuj viče**. The **Kreutzpolka** is a version in folk couples dancing or the pre-war **palaisglais**, and with it is application in dances called **paraglajz**, **paradajz**, **djevojačko** or **žita**, in folk dances in threes such as **todore** or the **lunajde**. The **galop** infiltrated folk dances such as the **sicilijana** or **viviliona** while it is the introductory figure in the **poskočica** from Konavle. The **šušter-polka** was preserved in the Podravina **grizlica**, the **repa** from Croatian Zagorje and Posavina.

The greatest influence of all the three-step dances on Croatian folklore, particularly in the Alpine and somewhat in the Adriatic dance regions, was exerted by the **mazurka** and the **varšavljanka**. Almost all dances with similar names stem from these, particularly local ones such as the **propada se pod** on Hvar Island.

With the migration of population, and for other reasons, elements of the six-part Dinaric dancing began to spread beyond the borders of the Dinaric dance zone. It appears

particularly in Istria and Podravina, such as the **vuzmeno kolo**. M. Gavazzi interprets the great popularity of Easter dances as due to the beginning of the dance season, i.e. dancing circle dances after Lent. This is also true of Međimurje, Slavonia and Podravina, while it is also the beginning of circle dancing time in Dalmatia.¹⁴² In the Adriatic zone there is a twofold acceleration of the old six-part circle dance through song and music, so the circle dance and dances acquire a three-part form. This is true of the **kola poskočice (linđa)** in the greater Dubrovnik vicinity, and certain other Adriatic dances such as the **trauline** from the Šibenik coastal area, the **postoline** from the Zadar archipelago and an occasional figure in the Pag Island **tanac**.

In various parts of Croatia, folk dances and folk customs fulfilled different social functions.

In the Pannonian and in part in the Dinaric dance zones, the circle dances was a public tribunal where many events from the life of the village, region, state or world were analyzed and criticized. The circle dance was not, therefore, marked only by dance and choreographical elements, but the name of the entire gathering. The songs and hopping lyrics spoke of village circumstances and mishaps, about love, father, mother, mother-in-law, landowners, priests, political and social events. Verses were improvised at the drop of a hat, and thoughts expressed freely with no fear of dire consequences. Many people of various ages gathered for the circle dance. They came not only to see what could be seen, but also to hear about the latest goings on. Everything that we learn from the modern information sources today, from the newspapers, radio and television, used to be heard in the circle dance. Of course modern information media can not replace the news specific to a single village.

The circle dance played an especially major selectional role in the Dinaric dance zone. One chose one's partner in marriage in the dance. This is why the most festive clothing was donned for the dance, hair was long combed, every detail was carefully arranged. This is why dances were rehearsed so carefully. The circle dance was the place where young people got to know each other, where the first amorous glances were exchanged, the first dates made. A special chosing dance regulated the relations between boys and girls. The long jumped and exhausting dance was a test of physical endurance for the girls. The weaker ones had to hang many more coins on their clothes, or, today, wads of cash, in order to compensate for their physical weakness. Until World War Two one could still find maiden fairs in the Dinaric regions, more rarely in Pannonia. The only remnant today can be found in names of individual religious holiday fairs such as **zagledač**, **probirač** and **podmorač**. At this last, as the name itself suggests, the girl had to be chosen. Entrance to the circle dance was a sign that a girl had **come out** and that a boy had **come of age**, and that they were ready for marriage, that the girl had prepared a dowry. Until the eldest sister joined the kolo and married, the younger girls were not allowed near the dance.

More in the Alpine region than elsewhere, the wedding dance had, and still has, the function of collecting material support for a new family. Payment for the bridal dance, the dance for the bride's stolen slipper, or the custom of looking to see whether the bride is lame or not, all brought the newlyweds considerable financial support. The circle dance around the bride's dowry chest in Konavle and the tossing of gifts onto it is also a version of this kind of help. The practical benefit of collecting gifts is reflected in earlier rites of various revellers, paraders, etc.

¹⁴² M. Gavazzi, op.cit. 1: 39.

In the Adriatic dance zone, and partially outside of it, four types of ball could be found. Some of them have persisted to the present. The oldest are the **kola na trgovima**, in open spaces for a holiday, usually religious. Refreshments were brought out into the square, and sometimes even food. This was usually a gift of the church or village heads. Sometimes the dance was lead by paid **pivci**, **pivači** (singers), as in Novi Vinodolski. Chronologically these are followed by dances organized by societies or clubs of young men, the **socije**, **socijetade**, **kumpanije** and so forth. They secured the premises and hired musicians. There were several groups in each village who would compete to see who could draw more girls to their dance. The third group were the paid dances called the **kavalkine**, **ferme** and so forth. They were organized by an innkeeper, he would hire the musicians, and would charge an entrance fee, as well as selling food and drink. Even each dance was paid, in some cases. The more affluent peasants, especially those with many daughters, held such dances. The final group were called **svečani plesovi** (festive balls), by invitation only. They were held in grand halls by political, cultural and educational, athletic, fire-brigade and other organizations. Such balls are held even today. In the club and later festive balls there was social, and later fierce political polarization; unrest broke out, fights, followed by police prohibitions. Along with social polarization, i.e. different gatherings for peasants and the "gentry", class polarization appeared on Brač for the first time before World War One. In Selce and Pučišće there were separate dances for the stonecarvers working in the quarry - the artists.

Traditional village art was growing progressively important. Preparations were made for stage performance.¹⁴³ The Croatian Peasant Party (Hrvatska seljačka stranka) and its cultural and educational organization Peasant Unity (Seljačka Sloga) devoted special attention to this. Stjepan Radić, then the Minister of Education, approved of a plan in 1925 for holding peasant performances at the National Theater. The same year, peasant Stjepan Novosel from Bukovac prepared a staging of folk customs for "amateur actors' assembly of Croatian peasant falcons" in Remete called "Badnje večer" (Christmas Eve), "O Jurjevu" (On St. George's Day) and "Prigorska svadba" (Prigorje Wedding). The peasant performers gave the "Christmas Eve" performance first in the Croatian Music Hall, and then they gave "Prigorje Wedding" in the Croatian Falcon Club on Fijanova St. After the Wedding was successful, it was shown in April at the National Theater. Peasant Unity had it printed up as a small book. Special attention was also dedicated to choruses, and in June the first "Review of Croatian Singing Societies". By the second review, in 1927, the society was performing its own original, unadapted folk songs, while wearing folk costume. This was continued, with interruptions, until 1929, when the work of Peasant Unity was forbidden with the onset of the Dictatorship of the Sixth of January. The turning point was in 1935, when Peasant Unity was reinstated, reinstating in turn the Folklore Review, with insistence on singing unadapted songs. Groups from Jasenovac and Sunja danced their circle dances, making 1935 the year of the first staged dance folklore. A proposal was made to establish the contours of future reviews. After 1937 the review was officially called the *Review of Croatian Peasant Culture*. Only unadapted songs were performed, and the amount of dancing, games, customs

¹⁴³ Stjepan Sremac, "Smotra folkloru u Hrvatskoj nekad i danas", *Narodna umjetnost*, Zagreb 1978, vol. 15: 97-120.

and music increased. The inclusion was urged of more elderly people and children, and smaller, regional reviews were also organized. From 1935 to 1940 a total of eight Zagreb reviews and about 150 regional ones were held. The focus was on presentation of elements of the older cultural tradition, providing incentive for the renovation of forgotten dances, songs and customs, with the slogan: the Croatian peasant movement renovates earlier Croatian folk culture and on its foundations creates the new! Many experts got involved in the work on renovation, including ethnologists Milovan Gavazzi and Branimir Bratanić, musicians Zlatko Grgošević, Rudolf Matz, Božidar Širola and others.

The pre-war reviews included field work. Professional ethnologists were joined in this task by amateurs, lovers of folk art. The Peasant Unity sent around circulars with questions about songs, dances, music, costumes and customs. Such questionnaires were the first systematic collection of material on Croatian peasant culture. Inspired by Ante Radić's guidelines, and later by the more detailed *Osnove za sabiranje hrvatske narodne glazbe* (Principles for Collecting Croatian Folk Music), Božidar Širola and many intellectuals, particularly teachers, began to work with lesser or greater intensity on collecting material from folk life, and, among other things, describing folk dances, circle dances, dance customs and so forth. Some of this material was published in the *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* (On the Folk Life and Customs of the Southern Slavs put out by the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art, in *Narodna starina*, Sv. *Cecilija* and elsewhere.

This was an authentic national and cultural movement that was well supported by radio and the press, stressing on the one hand the value of the national legacy, while criticizing the negative aspects of research, selection and application of folklore. Films were made of the reviews, and they are extremely valuable documents today, particularly on music and dance culture, and costumes. Members of the Matica of Croatian Theater Volunteers, under the Guidance of Aleksandar Freudenreich, researched and recorded dances, some of which were published in *Sklad*. The city amateur dancers, people from Zagreb, rehearsed dances in the choreography of ballerina Nevenka Perko, to the music of Lisinski, Slavko Zlatić and Rudolf Matz. They performed in 1936 at the Berlin Olympics in the category of folk dancing and won first place. These were choreographed versions of: **hrvatsko slavonsko kolo**, **balun** and the **dučec** and **drmeš**. The theater amateurs, inspired by this success, continued their work on artistic adaptation of folk dances. This was, in fact, the beginning of the work of urban amateurs on staging of folklore in Croatia.

Village groups multiplied with each new year. They left their villages to tour. One such group was Bosiljak from Čučerje, which held guest performance in Belgrade and Sophia with its famed "Čučerje Wedding".

A combination of folklore and tourism was established. In 1938 at the Review guests were handed out invitations to the following event which had been printed in Croatian and four foreign languages.

World War Two interrupted further development of the Review, folklore research and application. When it was over, the Peasant Unity was revived, as were its branches. Regional and local reviews were held, and in 1946 the first Great Review of Croatian Peasant Culture was held. In 1947 and 1948 the second and third Great Reviews were held, and in these years many folklore groups were formed as part of municipal culture and art societies. Great

interest existed in staging folklore, which resulted, in 1949, in the "Chorus of Folk Dances and Songs - Lado" which has had considerable influence, under the artistic guidance of its founder Zvonimir Ljevaković, and later under the guidance of subsequent artistic directors, on both urban and village amateurs. The branches of Peasant Unity decreased, while many were changed to culture and art societies. The most well known amateur groups, such as Joža Vlahović from Zagreb, participated in the major European and world folklore festivals and were given some of the most prestigious awards and acknowledgements. Lado is an ambassador of Croatia, in a sense, to the rest of the world. After a veritable inundation of folklore groups, various deformations and deviations appeared, and there was public criticism of folklore mania, resulting in a swing towards the other extreme: folklore societies were devastated. This went on until the 1960s when folklore sections were reinstated, and folklore amateurism experienced a new renaissance.

In 1966, organized by Arta, the International Folklore Review (Međunarodna smotra folklor) was founded in Zagreb; groups from all over Yugoslavia and from abroad were invited to attend. An entire team of experts work for the Review whose role it is to support those within folk culture in finding, maintaining and selecting authentic and valuable elements of traditional folklore. In this sense the "Principles of the Review" were established, that state its objective, substance and form of action. The Review is closely tied in with the work of scholarly institutions, particularly with the Institute of Folklore Research and the Zagreb Ethnographic Museum.

All these events provided incentive for research, and research is dependent, to a considerable degree, on them. IN 1948 an ethnomusicological section separated from the Ethnographic Museum, and under the guidance of Vinko Žganec the Institute for folk Art was founded (until quite recently called the Department of Folklore Research within the Institute of Philology and Folkloristics). A section for work on folk dance was formed as part of the new Institute, where Lelja Taš worked briefly, and then Ivan Ivančan (the author of this article) worked there for twenty years. Today Stjepan Sremac is working at the Institute as the ethnochoreologist. These experts gathered, documented and systematized a vast number of folk dances from all parts of Croatia. Studying the dance customs in Croatia, they enhanced the Institute's archives with tapes, video films, films, photographs, kinetograms, dance and other manuscript collections. Ivan Ivančan, author of ten books on the subject of dance folklore, provided a geographic subdivision of folk dances throughout Yugoslavia, mostly based on information from the inter-war period and his own field work. He explored and compared stylistic, rhythmic, spatial and other traits of folk dances, and for his dance zones he assumed the names according to those ethnographic zones that earlier defined and proposed by Milovan Gavazzi. Folk dances in Croatia are divided into four dance zones: the **Alpine, Pannonian, Adriatic and Dinaric.**

The Alpine zone stretches westward along an imaginary line running from Koprivnica, through Zagreb, to Rijeka. Here there is a predominance of dances in couples, and the couples are equally distributed along a circle. The partners needn't be closely attached to one another. The direction of movement through the dance space is counterclockwise, and only a single couple moves clockwise. The stylistic trait is an intensive turning of couples. This tells us of the quality of the dancers. There are usually simple two- and three-part rhythms.

The musical accompaniment to the dance is the string ensemble occasionally augmented by wind instruments. Wind instruments are quite popular, because the "žveglicas" and others were earlier always a part of the ensembles. Today in Istria the folk instruments are usually wind instruments: flutes and pipes such as the *roženica*, *šurle*, *vidalice*. Singing as accompaniment to dance is rare in the Alpine zone.

The Pannonian zone encompasses the region east of Zagreb, and north of the Sava and Danube. Here the closed circle dance is most common. The older walked dances are the occasional exception, to the accompaniment of long songs, especially ballads. The dancers are often quite close together, because they hold hands with the person next to the one next to them. Movement, in horizontal terms, is quite little, but the vertical has prominence, with the shaking, the bouncing of the body. This is then the source of the names for individual *drmeš* dances. It is the principle stylistic trait of the dancing. The direction of movement in the west or east differs. The same applies to the Dinaric dance zone. In the west the dance moves to the left, while in the east to the right. In the broader transitional area between both zones one finds circle dances called *povračanci* (back-turners) and so forth that move in one direction and then turn around and go back just as far.

Hajd' na levo brate Stevo!	Now to the left, brother Steve!
Hajd' na desno seka Jelo!	Now to the right, sister Jela!

Songs in a circle dance are frequent, and the couplets are sometimes improvised, speaking of village details. Some are danced with a solo instrument: the bagpipe, double flute, single tamboura. In the second half of the 19th century, or more precisely 1847, the tamboura began to appear in orchestras, and violin or dulcimer players were sometimes added. The two basic rhythmic patterns in which the Pannonian dance moved were the older one, where the fourth note was followed by two eighths, or the more recent one where the two eighths are followed by a quarter.

The Adriatic zone includes islands and a narrow coastal belt, except for the Zadar and Šibenik vicinities and islands. There one finds dancing in couples, but the couples are not equally arranged in circles. There is dancing in two facing lines. In one stand the male dancers, in the other, the female dancers. The direction of movement is first in one direction, until the dance prompter changes direction. The direction changes in one dance three times. For dances in two opposite lines they are danced partially in place, and then one line towards the other, sometimes the lines break so that each goes back the place where the other was formerly standing. For the style of the dance foot sliding in place (*prebiranje*) is important or intensive spinning of individuals, particularly female dancers. The Adriatic dances can be divided into two three-part and one six-eight rhythmic pattern. Heterorhythmics appears between odd dance and even musical accompaniment. The principle instrument for accompanying dance throughout the area was the bagpipe, which have been substituted in part in the north by the *sopela* flute, and the lyre in the south. Characteristic is the singing in the north that imitates musical instruments, called *tararankanje*.

The Dinaric zone is the central and largest area, and it is between the three described zones. The open and closed dance are not compact, so it is impossible to cover considerable space both horizontally and vertically. The high and powerful leaps are stylistic traits. Beautiful is a synonym for powerful. The archaic six-part dance pattern is usually performed without accompaniment, or with a song in the first, light, walking section. The circle dance

is therefore called deaf, mute, soundless and so forth. In some areas one couple steps out of the circle dance, in other places two do, while in the regions of Sinj and Poljice the circle dance has completely disintegrated into couples.

The Institute of Folklore Research, or the earlier Institute of Folk Art, and the Culture and Education Committee of Croatia publish, among other things, literature on ethnochoreology. Aside from Ivan Ivančan's ten books on the dances of Baranja, Slavonia, Podravina, Istria, Bilogora, Lika, three on the dance folklore of Dalmatia, on the staging of folklore and others, many authors have come out with shorter ethnochoreological works in the journals *Kulturni radnik*, *Narodna umjetnost*, *Podravski zbornik* and others. Aside from Ivan Ivančan, these include Vladimir Škreblin, Josip Jalžabetić, Stjepan Sremac, Snježana Missoni, Mihael Ferić and others. Some ethnomusicologists in their books and articles also touch on questions of dance. This is first of all the late Vinko Žganec, then Ivo Furčić, Julije Njikoš and others. Croatian authors Žganec, Škreblin and Ivančan used their own dance notation when recording and publishing, and now everyone has embraced the Laban-Knusst kinetography after agreement at the First Yugoslav Congress of Folklore Researchers held on Bjelašnica in 1955. The first book to come out using this kinetography was *Narodni plesovi Hrvatske 1*. (Folk Dances of Croatia) by Ivan Ivančan in 1956.

Interest has revived in folklore dance sections, especially those at schools, and the numerous festivals, reviews, tourist shows and other occasions means that the demand for folklore experts is growing, but they are not trained in secondary schools or universities anywhere. In 1962, the Education Committee of Croatia founded for this purpose the Summer, and ten years later the Winter Folklore School through which over a thousand participants have passed over the last twenty years or so, from all parts of Yugoslavia, Europe and all continents. The Summer School is particularly well known in Yugoslavia and abroad for its program and successful past work.

We have rather varied types and quality of information on dance of the Croats living outside of Croatia.

The Croats living in Bosnia and Hercegovina have been studied by experts from the Sarajevo Folklore Research Institute. They have looked at quite a few dance customs in the Croatian villages, but few of the results have been published. We know of the current situation through participation of authentic village groups from this republic at reviews and festivals in Bosnia and Hercegovina, at the Balkan Festival of Folklore in Ohrid, and at the Zagreb International Folklore Review. All belong to the Dinaric dance zone in terms of dance characteristics.

Information about the Vojvodina Bunjevac and Šokac populations also is inferred from what we see at reviews and festivals. While the Šokac population are a continuation of similar dances and forms found among the Baranje Šokac population, the Bunjevac folklore must be examined more closely. Ljubica and Danica Janković from Belgrade have written some on them, and they were studied rather superficially by Dobrivoje Putnik and Ivan Ivančan.

The Croats living outside of Yugoslavia who were the most thoroughly studied are the Burgenland Croats (Gradišćanski Hrvati). After studying the dances and dance customs of the Burgenland Croats on several occasions we arrived at the impressive number of 43 recorded dances. Most of these, however, are fragments. They do shed some light on Burgenland dance culture and indicate the origins and connections of individual elements of dance and dance customs.

Those details that speak of connections with the native land, particularly with the dance customs of the Alpine and Adriatic dance zones in Croatia are particularly valuable. But not only these. There are also traits that point to Pannonian and Dinaric models.

The dances of Croats living in Hungary have been studied and published by Budapest choreographer Antal Kricskovics. They show quite a bit of similarity to the dances of the northern regions.¹⁴⁴ The dances of Romanian and Italian Croats remain to be studied. Some initial attempts have already been made.

Abbreviations:

ZIF - Institute of Folklore Research formerly the Institute of Folk Art

JAZU - Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art

SANU - Serbian Academy of Science and Art

ZNŽO - Volume on the Folk Life and Customs of Southern Slavs

¹⁴⁴ Antal Kricskovics, *Južnoslavenske narodne igre*, Magyarországi délszlav táncok.